Daily Report

Latin America

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Review of Reaction to Nicaraguan Elections

PA2802123090

[Editorial Report] The following is a reaction report from Latin American media monitored by FBIS Panama Bureau on the results of the 25 February presidential elections in Nicaragua. This report includes leader's statements that have already been published in a fuller form, as well as editorials and political party statements.

COLOMBIA

Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish at 0000 GMT on 27 February reported that Violeta Chamorro "today became the first woman to rule Nicaragua," adding that she will have to face the "difficult challenge" of ruling this country. The report also stated that Chamorro's victory "will involve the lifting of the U.S. economic embargo, the decline of the Sandinist-supported Salvadoran guerrilla organizations, the adoption of a new education system, and an internal struggle to depoliticize the Nicaraguan Armed Forces."

COSTA RICA

Panama City ACAN in Spanish at 1615 GMT on 26 February reported that President Oscar Arias "called early this morning to congratulate Violeta Chamorro on her electoral victory" and stated that he felt "very happy and proud" of "allowing Nicaragua to embark on the road where negotiation, not force, will settle our conflicts."

Panama City ACAN in Spanish at 1625 GMT on 26 February quoted Foreign Minister Rodrigo Madrigal as saying that Violeta Chamorro's electoral victory will provoke "a highly important change for Central America," adding that "a truly democratic fervor has moved the Nicaraguan people to wage a great battle for democracy."

Panama City ACAN in Spanish at 0035 GMT on 27 February reported that President Arias expressed hope that the "civic lesson" taught by the Nicaraguan people, who changed "bullets for votes and weapons for ballot boxes," will be assimilated by the Salvadoran guerrillas.

CUBA

Havana International Service in Spanish at 0000 GMT on 27 February carried a report on the latest vote-counting figures, adding that President Daniel Ortega had given a speech to "assure" that his government "will respect and abide by the people's mandate." Another report said that "political leaders of several countries have stated their satisfaction for the honesty" of the Nicaraguan elections.

ECUADOR

Media monitored by Panama Bureau have not been observed to report on official or unofficial reactions to election results in Nicaragua.

EL SALVADOR

San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish at 1800 GMT on 26 February quoted Nationalist Republican Alliance, ARENA, President Armando Calderon Sol as saying that Chamorro's "victory comes within the framework of a different stage in the region," adding that "democracy is being consolidated in the region."

San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish at 0300 GMT on 27 February reported that UNO's victory "is considered a veritable political earthquake" that toppled the FSLN; adding that the United States and most of the Latin American nations, have termed as "positive" Violeta Chamorro's victory and "lauded the Nicaraguan people's behavior." It also stated that "the Cuban Government has remained silent about the Nicaraguan election results" and "U.S. political observers today wondered when it will be the Cuban regime's turn."

San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish at 0300 GMT on 27 February also reported that Legislative Assembly Vice President Roberto Angulo; Christian Democratic Party, PDC, Secretary General Fidel Chavez Mena; Authentic Christian Movement, MAC, leader Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes; and Popular Social Christian Movement, MPSC, Secretary General Ruben Zamora; respectively; said that "UNO's victory represents a referendum" which shows "that the Marxist option has been ruled out in Central America;" that "the FSLN's defeat" should not "embolden the country's radical sectors, which consider that the Salvadoran problem will end when Ortega is no longer in power;" that "both UNO and the FSLN will rule, regardless of who wins" because "Chamorro can hardly rule against an Army that is handled by the FSLN;" and that the Nicaraguan election results are "an example that should be carefully observed" by the ruling ARENA because "it will become the next victim" if "it does not manage to overcome the state of war."

In addition, Canal Doce Television in Spanish at 0300 GMT on 27 February features a statement read by Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Valdivieso that says the Foreign Ministry "voiced its satisfaction today over" Chamorro's victory because it "brings high hopes for the social and economic development of Nicaragua and all of Central America, with the understanding that democracy is now the common denominator joining" El Salvador and Nicaragua.

(Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador at 0026 GMT on 27 February aired a Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, General Command communique stating that Nicaraguan elections "were an example of the FSLN's democratic vocation commitment" to hold "honest and democratic" elections despite "the numerous, illegitimate, and even criminal obstacles imposed" by U.S. policy.

(Clandestine) Radio Venceremos at 0000 GMT on 27 February featured a commentary on the Nicaraguan elections, which says that "Sandinist democracy" had

won and "that the whole world praised this example" of "true democracy." The commentary added that "the Sandinists, the revolutionaries, made the people's dream come true" and wondered "if ARENA or the military would be willing to hold similar elections in El Salvador" because "the Salvadoran people also want democracy."

San Salvador Canal Seis Television in Spanish at 0200 GMT on 27 February broadcast a report featuring reactions by Dr. Armando Calderon Sol, San Salvador mayor and ARENA president; Dr. Fidel Chavez Mena, PDC leader; Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes, MAC leader; and Ricardo Valdivieso, deputy foreign minister.

ARENA's Calderon said that "we believe the Nicaraguan people have written a glorious page in defense of democracy and freedom. We believe that Central America is moving toward achieving lasting peace and economic development. We also believe that the Central American peoples—with their budding democracies and stronger democracies such as Costa Rica's—are conveying, as a region, to the entire world that they want freedom, peace, and harmony." Calderon believes that the United States must now give preferential treatment to Central America's economic and social development.

PDC's Chavez said "we hope that the new government, which will apparently be headed by Mrs. Chamorro, will build a participative and pluralist democracy in Central America and that this will contribute toward achieving detente and peace and to strengthening democracy in Central America."

MAC's Rey said that "regardless of who won, the two parties involved will govern. I believe that Violeta Chamorro will not be able to govern without an Army, which is controlled by the FSLN unless she can eliminate that Army and establish another one. Therefore, they will have to reach an agreement to govern Nicaragua together. This will obviously change the Nicaraguan Government's radical position regarding its support to the FMLN and toward subversive actions. However, I do believe they will have to share power to govern."

The report also adds that only time will resolve the issue of the composition of Mrs. Chamorro's government because the coalition that helped her win the election is made up of 14 parties of various ideological persuasions, ranging between the two extremes. Finally, the report stated that ARENA, PDC, and MAC this morning "coincided in describing the Nicaraguan opposition's victory as positive and pointed out that the Sandinist defeat should not be viewed as a rejection of negotiation, but as an expression of a people's self-determination."

Another report on the same program states that "the Salvadoran Government reacted positively to the presidential election in Nicaragua and assured that the opposition's victory brings hopes for peace in the region." It quoted Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Valdivieso as saying that "we hope that the FMLN will stop its foolish actions, because it is clear that pluralist, participative, and constitutional democracies are the only option for our region and other world countries. Therefore, we believe that this is the dawn of true regional peace, of a constructive and democratic peace."

As for the resumption of normal diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, Valdivieso said "as President Cristiani witnesses a peaceful transition, which not only Nicaragua, but the entire region deserves, I am very sure that our relations will be normalized."

The report stated that the deputy foreign minister reaffirmed the government's position to respect the election results. It added that certain groups, such as the Salvadoran military, have abstained from commenting on what the FMLN might do once the Sandinists step down.

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish on 27 February carries a 300-word editorial on page 4 that hails Violeta Chamorro's victory in the Nicaraguan elections. The editorial states that "the nine Nicaraguan Marxist 'commanders' believed, with the self-deception that Communists cannot resist, that the simplistic rhetoric of their decaying ideology would be enough to win the people's support." The editorial goes on to say that the people were not impressed with Ortega's multimillion dollar campaign, but by Chamorro's simple and calm message of democracy. The same newspaper also carries a 125-word editorial on page four regarding Daniel Ortega's defeat in the Nicaraguan elections. This editorial states that the Nicaraguan elections have dispelled the notion that the dramatic changes in East Europe would not be repeated in Third World countries because of the different situations on the two continents. It states that "had Ortega won, his victory would have been exploited as an expression of the 'oppressed' countries' desires."

San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish on 27 February carries on pages 3 and 57 a 500-word report on the Nicaraguan elections by Horacio Ruiz Pavon, who notes that the UNO members calmly announced on the morning of 26 February that they would not seek revenge against the FSLN. Cristiana Chamorro, the president-elect's daughter, described the victory as "a lifetime dream come true; first she [Violeta] fought the Somoza dictatorship, then the Sandinists. Last night she fulfilled her husband's dream." Pavon also points that the greatest surprise for the Nicaraguan people was to hear Preisdent Ortega acknowledge Mrs. Chamorro's victory.

Meanwhile, business leader Enrique Bolanos Geyer reacted enthusiastically to Mrs. Chamorro's victory. "I never thought the Sandinists would acknowledge their defeat," he said. Bolanos said he could not help feeling pleased over the Sandinists' defeat, for which he fought for 10 years.

The same newspaper, EL DIARIO DE HOY, carries a 400-word editorial on page 5 that also hails UNO's victory in the Nicaraguan elections. The editorial says that the Sandinist defeat dispelled certain myths and whatever was left of the legend of socialism. We learned, it states, "that polls are never truly trustworthy; that

propaganda cannot conceal or annihilate the truth; that it is false that the Third World countries are 'revolutionary' in nature; and that popular causes are those that are consistent with a de jure order and regular and honest democratic processes."

The editorial also states that the plans of the "left" in the United States have been dashed because they had intended to reduce aid to El Salvador while increasing aid to the Sandinists. The editorial concludes that the main problem now is to decide how to rebuild Nicaragua's devastated society, a problem also faced by East Europe.

San Salvador DIARIO LATINO on 26 February carries a 250-word editorial on page 16 which states that Nicaragua's elections prove that free elections can be held in Central America. The editorial states that "Nicaragua is now an example for the entire world, having held an electoral process that everyone trusted for its purity. Daniel Ortega, not attempting to seize power, displayed the respect that his people and all the people of the world deserve."

GUATEMALA

Paris AFP in Spanish at 2032 GMT on 26 February quoted the Guatemalan Government as saying that the 25 February elections in Nicaragua are a "victory for the Central American peace process" and expressed its confidence that "the official results will be respected."

Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish on page 4 of its 27 February issue carries a 250-word report on statements by Guatemalan Catholic Church Monsignor Prospero Penados del Barrio regarding the Nicaraguan elections. Msgr. Penados says that Violeta Chamorro's triumph "represents the Nicaraguan people's rejection of the Marxism that led Nicaragua into the worst economic crisis of its history." Penados concludes by saying that the Nicaraguan election results are proof that the "Latin American people do not want totalitarian dictatorships like the Sandinist one."

On page 5, the same paper carries a 400-word report on a congratulatory message sent by Guatemalan Vice President Roberto Carpio Nicolle to Nicaraguan President-elect Violeta Chamorro and Vice President-elect Virgilio Godoy. In his message, Carpio praised the Nicaraguan people's "democratic attitude during the elections" and acknowledged the fact that "President Daniel Ortega kept his word of holding free and democratic elections" in Nicaragua.

The same paper carries a 500-word report on page 5 on statements by Jorge Carpio Nicolle, Guatemalan presidential candidate for the Union of the National Center, UCN, regarding Chamorro's election victory in Nicaragua. The UCN presidential candidate describes Chamorro's victory as "the triumph of democracy in Latin America." Jorge Carpio adds that Chamorro's victory proves that "socialism is declining throughout Central America." The UCN leader says that the "winds of democracy will also reach Cuba, which cannot remain untouched by the renewing currents that are changing the political structures" of countries in East Europe and Latin America. To conclude, Jorge Carpio praises the Nicaraguan people's political maturity and stresses the fact that the Nicaraguan election results proved that the opposition is winning throughout Latin America and therefore, "Guatemala will not be the exception."

On page 9, the same newspaper carries an 800-word editorial analyzing the results of the Nicaraguan elections. The paper says that Violeta Chamorro's triumph is part of the changes experienced by the USSR and East Europe. It adds that the election polls favored the Sandinists, because "of the fear and fright among which thousands of Nicaraguans lived." The paper says that "the Sandinists fell into their own trap." They thought that filling up a public square with people who were forced to attend the Sandinist rallies and the use of state resources would give them the election victory." The editorial concludes by saying that the Sandinists "held free elections, because they were sure of their victory" and because "they wanted to legitimize Sandinism" to "recover the economic support of the democratic countries of the world."

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish on page 4 of its 27 February issue carries a 900-word report on commentaries made by several Guatemalan opposition party leaders, including members of the Movement of National Liberation and the UCN. The opposition leaders cited in the report congratulated Violeta Chamorro for the election victory and agreed on the fact that the triumph of the Nicaraguan opposition reaffirmed the fact that the opposition continues winning elections in the region and that it strengthened the Central American peace process.

On page 10, the same paper carries an 800-word editorial stressing the surprise represented by the Nicaraguan election results and the cleanliness of the election process. The editorial adds that one of the reasons for the Sandinist election defeat was "its permanence in power" for too long a period of time. The editorial concludes by saying that it is now time for "all of us to work in favor of peace in the region."

HONDURAS

Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish at 1145 GMT on 26 February features an interview with President Rafael Leonardo Callejas, who says that he is "extremely pleased" about the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections because "the Nicaraguan people voted in a democratic process and chose the government they want to rule their destiny."

Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA on 27 February publishes a 200-word report on page 3 which says that President Callejas could not hide his enthusiasm for Violeta Chamorro's victory in the 25 February elections. During the inauguration of the fifth Central American conference on the elimination of polio, Callejas said: "From

the Bering Straits to the Cape of Gracias a Dios, we have democratic governments. This decade will be of great importance for the health sector and human resources, because within the political structure of liberty and democracy, we will have an opportunity to see a new concept of relations among countries to approach health problems."

In the Political Forum section of its 27 February issue, LA TRIBUNA carries a 450-word report in which Callejas says: "The Nicaraguan elections won by UNO candidate Violeta Chamorro open up a horizon of many opportunities for building peace in Central America." Regarding the withdrawal of the contras, Callejas said "this is an aspect that will be analyzed because he does not want to force circumstances in Nicaragua because of the political transition."

The 27 February issue of LA TRIBUNA publishes two editorials. The first is a 200-word editorial entitled "The Other C," which says "an opposition coalition that was disorganized a few months ago has won the elections from the Sandinist Party of the commanders, which is perhaps one of the most politically and militarily organized groups." The editorial adds that "international pressure and the recent democratic changes all over the world have attained what the gringos could not do with the contras."

The second 200-word editorial entitled "The Changes" lists eight things that Honduras could expect as a result of the recent electoral changes in Nicaragua. Among other things, Honduras could expect "fewer hostilities and less danger of having guerrilla groups supported by Nicaragua—provided that the new government stabilizes and the Sandinists do not become a military opposition." As a result of Chamorro's victory, "Nicaraguan refugees would return to their country and the contras would be dismantled," the editorial adds. According to the editorial, Honduras can also expect less U.S. aid, because without the counterrevolution—the military toy of the gringos—Honduras' strategic importance decreases."

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish on 27 February publishes a 400-word editorial on page 6 entitled "A Lesson of Democracy in Sandino's Land," and notes that "despite all forecasts, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro won the 25 February elections." The editorial adds that "it is too soon to give an opinion on the repercussions this political event will have in Nicaragua, in the region, and in Latin America. There is a new chapter in the history of Nicaragua, "bled by a cruel war imposed by the United States and an economic embargo," in which the revolution will leave in recess. The editorial notes that the "generosity and patriotism of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, the revolutionary leadership, and the Sandinist Party are admirable and deserve universal respect."

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish on 27 February in a 150-word article also reports that members of the Coalition Pro-Rights of the Nicaraguan Exiles said in Tegucigalpa that "they will return to their country right after Violeta Barrios takes over power."

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish on 27 February publishes a 600-word editorial entitled "Triumph of Liberty," which notes "the overwhelming victory of UNO candidate Violeta de Chamorro." The editorial adds that "UNO had no money and little access to the media." Despite this, it won the elections and "ended one of the most incompetent, sectarian, and irrational regimes Central America has endured." Moreover, the editorial says, "the huge military apparatus built by the Leninist commanders will have to be dismantled" so democracy prevails in Nicaragua. "This is a very complex challenge Violeta de Chamorro will have to face after 25 April." The editorial concludes by saying that if the United States, Japan, West Europe and other industrialized democracies support the new Nicaraguan administration, "Nicaragua will be able to overcome the nightmare in which it has been sunk by tyrants of all ideologies."

PANAMA

Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish at 1700 GMT on 26 February carries a letter sent by Panamanian President Guillermo Endara Galimany "to Nicaragua." In his letter, Endara notes the Panamanian Government's satisfaction "over the process and results of the elections held in Nicaragua."

Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish at 2300 GMT on 26 February carries remarks by Panamanian Vice President Guillermo Ford on the Nicaraguan elections. "As a democrat, I am happy that something that was not done in Panama happened in Nicaragua, namely, the self-determination of the Nicaraguan people, who have suffered so much. I respect the decision of the Nicaraguan people," Ford notes. He adds that he hopes the Sandinists will continue respecting the self-determination of Nicaraguans.

Hamburg DPA in Spanish at 0005 GMT on 27 February carries a 300-word dispatch on comments by Panamanian Foreign Minister Julio Linares on the results of the Nicaraguan elections. The report cites Linares as saying: "I am very pleased with the victory of UNO candidate Violeta Chamorro."

Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish on 27 February on page 7 in its commentary column "As of Today," notes that Nicaraguan opposition candidate Chamorro won despite the fact that polls had given the lead to her opponent, President Daniel Ortega. "No matter what, Violeta Chamorro's victory is an indisputable fact that points to new directions in the political future of Nicaragua and all Central America. Rather than replacing rulers, Nicaraguans voted for an ideological change in the concept of the purpose of the state and the duties that may be legitimately performed to achieve that purpose."

Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish at 2300 GMT on 26 February carries an announcer-read report noting Vice President Ford voiced his "satisfaction" over Violeta Chamorro's victory in the Nicaraguan elections and the "recognition" of Chamorro's victory by President Ortega.

VENEZUELA

Madrid EFE in Spanish at 0310 GMT on 27 February carries a 215-word Caracas datelined item on comments by Eduardo Fernandez, the president of the Christian Democratic International organization, on the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections. The report says Fernandez "urges the United States to show its cooperative spirit with the Nicaraguan people." Fernandez states that Chamorro's victory "drastically changes the political picture in Central America," and he praises incumbent President Daniel Ortega for honoring the election results. Fernandez suggests that the newly-elected government and the Sandinists begin a constructive dialogue, the report concludes.

Cuba

Commentary on U.S. Role in Nicaraguan Election

PA2802142190 Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Our America" commentary by Manolo Ortega]

[Text] Those who accept the results of pre-election polls as a barometer of the citizens' preference are still perplexed by the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections on 25 February. Many polls predicted a victory for the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] and admitted a struggle with its closest political rival, UNO [National Opposition Union].

After UNO received the majority of votes in the most supervised elections in the history of the Western Hemisphere, it was quickly greeted by the George Bush administration, given the direct relations between that administration with the very existence of, the proselytist campaign of, and the political outlook of the 14-party coalition that proposed Violeta Barrios as president and Virgilio Godoy as vice president.

Certain analysts consider it a contrast that a majority of the people who zealously guard their independence could vote for the pro-U.S. UNO, which was publicly and secretly financed with White House money. However, one cannot forget that the electorate was bombarded with an aggressive UNO campaign that did not say that Nicaragua's economic deterioration was caused by the unjust war and economic blockade imposed by the United States, its condition as a poor country looted by Somozism, and the Sandinist Government's need to divert resources for defense—to the detriment of production sectors.

UNO and U.S. propaganda cleverly manipulated these realities while Violeta Barrios promised the hypothetical arrival of millions in U.S. aid. A large sector of the Nicaraguan people still believe in the Sandinists' peace project and their flexible model of mixed economy and political pluralism. However, the most powerful nation in the West did not let the FSLN work amid times of peace and prove the viability of its scheme. The economy's grave situation, on the verge of paralysis, represented the most unfavorable element in the FSLN electoral plans.

However, the indelible marks of the government's efforts in health, education, social justice, and nonaligned foreign policy will remain in the country. The Sandinists' continuous flexibility, which included bringing forward the elections, was not reciprocated by the United States, a country which opposed the contras' demobilization in Honduras and sabotaged the Central American presidents' agreements—which were strictly observed by the Nicaraguan Government.

Washington needed a close ally in that Central American capital and, given that the counterrevolution was neutralized in the battlefield, it used vast resources to support UNO. We have yet to see if Violeta Barrios' predictions about an influx of U.S. dollars will come true. In Panama, where the U.S. invaders imposed a docile government, only $42 million has been received. This is hardly enough to rebuild bombarded installations.

Meanwhile, the world has taken note of Violeta Barrios' assurances that she will work for national reconciliation. Her statements might be interpreted as a desire to prevent confrontations. Time will tell if Violeta Barrios' more conservative—although more realistic—position can be reconciled with the aggressiveness of her second-in-command, Virgilio Godoy.

From a broader viewpoint, the outlook of the Nicaraguan elections poses a question on the future of that country and Central America. That area of the world, which the United States considers its back yard, can become the propitious site for major interference. However, the people think differently and it will not be easy to dash the Central American people's hopes for independence.

Radio Says Nicaraguan Class Struggle To Worsen

FL2802145090 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Commentary from the "Haciendo Radio" program]

[Text] The definitive liquidation or partial preservation of the socioeconomic gains of the process that began on 19 July 1979 has become the central issue in Nicaragua 72 hours after the victory at the ballot boxes of the National Opposition Union coalition, UNO. Electoral manipulation of the desire for economic stability and peace was one of the causes of this victory. The real meaning of UNO's promises in this regard could surprise most Nicaraguans as much as the results of the 25 February elections surprised the analysts.

Sources in the U.S. Congress have made it known that although the Bush administration will lift the blockade, one should not expect greater financial aid in the short term to Nicaragua from the Americans, who now give higher priority to aid to East European countries. For now, the new Nicaraguan authorities will receive at most $100 million from the United States and the equivalent of $30 million from the FRG, ridiculous amounts for rebuilding a nation that is among the three poorest in Latin America, and which has also been in civil war for 10 years.

President-elect Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro intends to introduce the so-called social market economy into Nicaragua; that is, savage capitalism. However, she has pledged to keep the agrarian reform and the service of the combatants against the Somoza family's bloody tyranny; these combatants now maintain the Sandinist

People's Army [EPS], whose size is calculated at 700,000 men. Mrs. Chamorro's colleagues have said that the EPS could continue with Commander Humberto Ortega as its chief, subordinated to a defense minister chosen by UNO.

However, pacification seems as distant as economic well-being. The military head of the armed counterrevolution, Israel Galeano, has repeated that he will not demobilize his men as long as there are any vestiges of Sandinism left. This week he will meet in Honduras with the 43 members of the counterrevolutionary high command to define their strategy. About 10,000 armed counterrevolutionaries based in Honduras and answering to Galeano have been U.S. imperialism's main tools in the undertaking to destabilize the Sandinist revolution, and the hope of the privileged classes in Nicaragua, whose political expression is UNO. Alfredo Cesar, a former member of the armed counterrevolutionary directorate, is one of the president-elect's key advisers; her son, Pedro Joaquin, has also acted as a high-ranking contra leader.

In this context, what can be expected of the national reconciliation promised by UNO? The extreme polarization of the 25 February vote—55.2 percent for UNO, 40.8 percent for the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], and less than five percent of the vote for the other parties—shows that the class struggle in Nicaragua will get worse from now on. Under very difficult conditions, the FSLN has the task of keeping what can be kept, resisting the reactionary offensive, rectifying errors, and leading the struggle to recover the ground that was lost.

Commentary Denies Nation Isolated by World Events

FL2802185690 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Because of the changes that have taken place in East Europe, the cruel U.S. invasion of Panama, and, finally, the results of the 25 February elections in Nicaragua, a new shower of propaganda stresses the idea of the alleged isolation of Cuba. In this way, the strange idea of structural changes occurring in Cuba is once again ignited or reinforced in the minds of many—not the changes that come from the free will of the Cuban people, but economic, political, and social changes based on concepts from the centers of power of capitalist countries and, primarily, of the United States.

The pressures are many and very diverse. One of the most recent examples is the pressure exerted over CSSR President Vaclav Havel. On his last visit to the United States, it was recommended to President Havel that his country discontinue representing Cuban interests in the neighboring country with whom we have no diplomatic relations—another action toward isolation.

Whoever thinks that Cuba will remain isolated either is not very well acquainted with the history of our people, insists on forgetting it, or knows absolutely nothing about it. Cuba, the last Spanish colony in this continent, fought alone for more than 10 years against the Spanish Army during the past century. It was a large war that formed Cuban nationality. Cuba also fought alone for independence in the war of 1895, which was interrupted up by the U.S. intervention. More recently, the men of the Moncada and the Sierra Maestra fought alone against the treacherous tyranny that misgoverned the country.

We had international solidarity for more than a century of struggle and the hopes of liberty for the exploited in this part of the world rested on our small country. It was the Cuban revolution and the truth extolled by its leaders that made the peoples of America a little more free. For the first time, a Third World country, and a small one on top of it, confronted the most powerful empire in our time and for 31 years it has remained unbeaten and proclaiming its ideas.

We will never feel isolated. We have never been isolated. Right now, despite the temporary setbacks in revolutionary thought and actions, despite errors on the road toward a more just world, the looks and thoughts of many in the four corners of the world are fixed on this small Caribbean island.

We do not feel isolated! We are not isolated!

Barbados

Sandiford Says Credit Curbs Improved Reserves

FL2802163190 Bridgetown CANA in English 1617 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Feb 28, CANA—Credit curbs introduced late last year have helped Barbados significantly improve its foreign reserves, Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford reported. He said Tuesday [27 February] the country's foreign reserves, estimated at BDS 256.1 million dollars (one BDS dollar = 50 U.S. cents) at the end of January, were in a better position than a year ago.

"The ratio of the reserves to the importation of goods was something like two and three-quarter months of imports," he told reporters. He described the reserves as "better than they were one year ago and better than they have been for a considerable period of time".

The Central Bank last October advised commercial banks and financial companies to cut back lending to the personal, consumer and distributive sectors by five percent of the lending outstanding at August 31. The bank said an increase in credit had placed considerable strain on the country's balance of payments at a time when foreign exchange reserves were less buoyant than two years ago.

Sandiford said government had been able to repay a five billion yen loan to Japan due on Wednesday. The loan had been secured on the Tokyo capital market in 1985 by

the former Barbados labour party administration. Sandiford told reporters that up to the end of last month, government had repaid 117.3 million dollars in loans during the financial year.

Government Seeks To Bolster Sugar Industry

FL2802180190 Bridgetown CANA in English 1702 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Feb 28, CANA—The Barbados Government says it is looking at ways of improving sugar production in the country amid opposition charges that the ruling administration was bent on ensuring the collapse of the industry through its price support system.

Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford told parliament that sugar was a vital component in the growth of the economy and his administration was looking at ways of maximizing sugar production so as to increase foreign exchange earnings from the sector. He said government had been holding discussions with the Barbados Sugar Industries Limited (BSIL) on improving the flagging industry.

Opposition leader Richie Haynes told parliament the price support being offered by the government would lead to a collapse of the industry. Haynes urged government to make a price support offer acceptable to the growers.

The members of parliament were speaking on a resolution seeking BDS 2.15 million dollars in price support for the industry.

Grenada

Gairy's Labor Party Releases Election Manifesto

FL2802152390 Bridgetown CANA in English 1335 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Report by George Worme]

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, Feb. 28, CANA—The opposition Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) has promised a better taxation policy, a cut in food prices, and a new department of complaints if it wins the March 13 general election. In a 20-page manifesto just released here, the party said it would establish a department of complaints to handle grouses related to job losses, property damage, death, and other matters. It said, too, it would "review, control, and reduce prices of food for ordinary people so that the cost of living might become more manageable."

The party, headed by former Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy wants to review what it said was a burdensome taxation system. According to the manifesto, the GULP would immediately set up a high-level commission comprising mainly locals drawn from business, agricultural and manufacturing, and the trade union movement to carry out the review and make recommendations for the establishment of a comprehensive, equitable tax structure.

GULP, the oldest party on the island, promised to continue the income tax-free status initiated in 1986 by the government of late Prime Minister Herbert Blaize. The manifesto said GULP was committed to giving priority to a meeting with the island's industrialists "to seriously discuss the ways and means to obliterate the present atmosphere of "stagnation" in Grenada." It said that from the initiative an effective delegation representing the business community would be selected to meet with potential foreign investors so as to help revitalize the economy. The party also wants to set up a fiscal, industrial, and commercial standing advisory committee to advise government.

GULP was ousted in a 1979 leftist coup. The party in an apparent attempt to ease fears especially among leftist elements responsible for its downfall said that it would not embark on a course of revenge.

"A GULP government hereby gives the irrevocable commitment that there will be absolutely no victimization. Subversive activities against the state will be dealt with in full accordance with the laws of the land," it said.

The party said in the manifesto that undoubtedly it offered the best hope to restore Grenada to its former position of prominence and leadership among states in the Caribbean and Latin America. GULP is among the parties expected to make a good showing at the poll.

Haiti

ANDP Seeks Avril Resignation; Rejects Election

FL2802205090 Port-au-Prince Radio Antilles Internationales in French 1820 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Three members of the management council of the Permanent Electoral Council [CEP], Archange Leon, Reverend Pauris Jean-Baptiste, and Dr. Jacques Jovin, are asking their CEP colleagues to delay election preparation activities to avoid a repetition of 29 November or 17 January. Several members of political and union sectors have expressed satisfaction with this decision and they call on the other six members of the CEP to follow the example. We will come back to this matter later.

Meanwhile the ANDP, National Alliance for Democracy and Progress, through spokesman Marc L. Bazin of the Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti [MIDH], is asking that Lieutenant General Prosper Avril step down. The ANDP says it will not participate in elections under Gen. Avril.

[Begin Bazin recording in Creole] ...the ANDP today, we have come to tell the Haitian people solemnly and clearly that we are withdrawing the six conditions that we had set for us to participate in elections. Consider them no longer existent. So now anything that might have been

said about conditions, or things that could be changed, and so forth, with a view to interesting us, well, we consider all that null and void. Because on 23 February the ANDP national council had a meeting. This council is the most important authority of the three political parties, and we decided we are not going to participate in elections.

Elections held the way they [not further identified] want, with all those stages and within the current climate, in which there is no security, while the other political parties that want change would not [words indistinct]. Any elections held under such conditions would necessarily have to be fraudulent. Now, such elections would merely prolong the political crisis. [Words indistinct] on the international level. As for the nation's economic affairs, forget it! The roads will be full of holes. You will only have electricity now and then, if you are lucky. Water [words indistinct]. As for the gourde, well, I do not know what it is worth today but of course, under such conditions, the value of the gourde will drop even further. Prices will rise. The cost of living will become even higher and the Haitian people will plunge into extreme poverty—even sadder, tougher, and more degrading than the current one.

Who is going to recognize the validity of a government that is the issue of a fraudulent election? Thus, as of the moment there is only one way for the government to stay in power: by stomping on and beating people. Through repression. And for the government to get money? Well, it is not difficult to figure out. The government will raise the cost of public services. Everything you have to buy will be more expensive: bread, butter, flour, sugar. The prices of everything will rise. Government employees will either be fired or will not be paid on time. To obtain money, the government is going to take the machine and make it turn out unbacked [vie] currency. And when you print unbacked money, you get into inflation. That is, prices will start to rise and rise and rise, and contraband will get worse. This is what you call a completely disorganized government apparatus.

Now, when you have a disorganized government apparatus, the people's confidence in the government is nonexistent. The people have no confidence in the government because they see that the government is not serious, that those in the government are not serious, responsible people. And, of course, children, adults, families, employers, employees, merchants, farmers, and everyone in general will begin having doubts about their fate and about the future of their children and grandchildren in Haiti. [end recording]

That was Marc Louis Bazin of the MIDH, asking, in the name of the ANDP, that Lt. Gen. Prosper Avril resign and that power be handed over to the Court of Cassation.

Nicaraguan Envoy Views Future Chamorro Government

PA2802140990 Mexico City Red Nacional 13 Imevision Television in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Feb 90

[passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Nicaraguan Ambassador to Mexico Alfredo Alaniz has said that the Sandinists will continue to defend and improve the democratic process because they have not renounced doing this despite the election defeat. The ambassador made this statement to university students. He said that the elections have made evident the Sandinists' firm disposition to struggle for democracy. [Alaniz] "We are pessimistic about the political stability of the future Violeta Chamorro administration, and not because of any Sandinist boycotting of economic measures that could favor the people. We are going to support those measures. However, we are going to fight any plan that would mean weakening the achievements and recoveries of the revolution.

"If U.S. influence in the political frame of mind of the opposition is very significant, as expected, then efforts will be made to weaken the revolution and its achievements. This could further polarize the Nicaraguan forces and lead to a situation amid which that government would be unable to govern. It is doubtful that it could remain in government under such conditions and strong solutions would have to be sought to maintain social stability in the country."

[Announcer] Ambassador Alaniz said that Violeta Chamorro will face a very grave economic situation, the product of a 10-year recession, and that it will be very difficult to lift the economy.

[Alaniz] "In our opinion this will not be easy. It will not be easy because it will be very difficult to improve the economy if the masses do not participate and make sacrifices and support the effort, if there is no awareness. This is the kind of support the Sandinist Front had during the past 10 years."

[Announcer] Alaniz did not discard the possibility of the United States having to support the Violeta Chamorro government.

[Alaniz] "I believe that while it is true that there will be a rapprochement, the United States cannot give unlimited financial support to the new government. The United States has its own economic problems. There are signs of economic recession in the United States. There is the inflation problem. The arms race of recent years has worn out the U.S. economy. Capital always seeks profits. This is a characteristic of capitalism. We do not believe U.S. investors are going to run risks in a small market that from the point of view of investors will remain unstable and that offers small profit possibilities. This would leave only official aid for Nicaragua."

[Announcer] The Nicaraguan ambassador said that the new government will not enjoy the support of the Sandinist Army because this Army has been trained to defend the nation, not to repress the masses.

Four Casualties in PRD Clashes With Police

FL2802020890 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0040 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Zihuatanejo, Mexico, 27 Feb (NOTIMEX)—One dead and three wounded was the toll left by a clash that took place today between members of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) and Los Achotes community police, reported local authorities.

They indicated that PRD members from Petatlan, Tecpan de Galeana, Atoyac, and Coyuca de Benitez of the State of Guerrero were holding a demonstration and headed toward this locality, but a fight broke out when they reached Los Achotes police headquarters.

Zihuatanejo Municipality Secretary Bolivar Navarrete said the PRD members refused to be disarmed by the police.

Los Achotes community is located at the juncture that leads to the Zihuatanejo International Airport, seven km south of this city in the southern state of Guerrero.

PRD members' spokesmen said the demonstration and the blockades are being held to demand respect for the votes of the 3 December elections and the recognition of syndics and town hall councilmen, as well as punishment for those who have murdered members of their party.

Florentino Salmeron, apparently a PRD member, was killed. The wounded are two more PRD members and a policeman who have not been identified.

According to police reports, tight security measures were taken at the Zihuatanejo International Airport area to prevent any attempts to occupy the air terminal.

El Salvador

Cristiani Discusses Taiwan Trip, Major Issues

PA2802205990 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1733 GMT 28 Feb 90

[News Conference by President Alfredo Cristiani at the presidential residence in San Salvador—live]

[Text] [Cristiani] Good morning. I would like to initiate this news conference by reporting on my trip to the Republic of China [ROC].

The objective of the invitation from the ROC premier was to increase and strengthen economic, commercial, cultural, and sports ties between the two countries. Our countries have traditionally maintained excellent relations.

We were able to see some important work that has contributed to the economic and social development of the ROC. We discussed the possibility of ROC experts coming to the country to help us implement some of those projects in this country.

We presented four projects to the International Development Fund, which was created by the ROC last year, for the purpose of asking this institution to finance them.

These four projects have been presented. One of the projects calls for financial support to improve our trade balance. Another involves the Tierras Bank. A third project is to support the housing program for low-income groups, and a fourth project calls for the development of an industrial area within the country.

Of these four projects, as I have said earlier, the most important one could be the project that calls for supporting the Tierras Bank. This is a most important agrarian reform project because it is designed to continue and consolidate the agrarian reform process.

Personally speaking, the official I liked the most is Premier Li, because he is an economist who specialized in the agricultural sector—he has written books on agricultural development and its importance in creating capital for industrial development. Premier Li will receive an analysis to be prepared by the commission that manages the International Development Fund.

We think there is a good opportunity for securing several, if not all, of these projects. I think we have firmly secured relations between our two countries. I think technical support will soon be available. We discussed the agricultural diversification project with much interest. We attended a fair—an agricultural exposition—in the central part of the ROC. We plan to implement a pilot agricultural diversification program, especially in cooperatives, picking three in the different regions of El Salvador. The ROC would gladly send us experts in agricultural diversification and development programs.

Another ROC project that caught our attention is the vocational studies project. The vocational school we visited there is one of the largest in the world.

Here we are making some isolated efforts. We have the vocational schools of (Rick Aldona), (Fenat), the Labor Ministry, and some others. The idea is to work on a single program for the promotion of vocational studies.

The ROC Government will be happy to give us technical assistance with regard to these projects as well.

Summarizing: The trip was very positive. We had the opportunity to discuss the Central American and Salvadoran situations. Not all the problems are known all the time. These visits give us the opportunity to make our true situation known.

I think this was a positive visit. At the conclusion, we invited the premier of the ROC to visit us. He accepted the invitation and we have agreed to find the most suitable date for his visit through the two foreign ministries.

I have concluded my statement on the ROC. If you have any questions in this regard, we will answer those questions first and then we can move to other issues.

[Moderator] We will begin with the questions in Spanish, in the usual way, and English questions will follow. I beg you to limit yourselves to one question a person, because 20 persons have registered. In other words, we will not have much time. Mariela Melgar, Teleprensa.

[Melgar] [Words indistinct] part of the program for the Land Bank there was another confiscation. What would be the total amount?

[Cristiani] The amount of financing that has been requested is $201.8 million. This was requested for the four programs, and they are now awaiting a study by the commission of the ROC's Fund for International Development.

[Moderator] Maria de los Angeles Tenorio of San Salvador television's "Up to Date" newscast.

[Tenorio] [Words indistinct] that have not yet been approved. You said the first one involves the Land Bank that is still under study. However, is there any guarantee that it will be approved?

[Cristiani] As I said, President Li is very interested in agriculture. We also presented agriculture as perhaps the most important project, and he ordered that a commission in charge of the project study it first. A study of the project is required prior to its approval. In sum, nothing is officially approved yet; however, President Li's statements that there are very good chances that his country might finance our projects are very encouraging.

[Moderator] Nancy Perla of [word indistinct].

[Perla] Mr. President, I would like to move on to another topic since you have already discussed your ROC trip.

[Cristiani] But I do not know whether someone else wants to ask further questions regarding that trip. I could address other issues afterward.

[Unidentified Reporter] Yes, Mr. President, you talked about agricultural diversification programs. Since President Li is an expert [words indistinct] help implement those programs. My question is how and whether the enormous resources that we have, including the thousands of refugees who have returned from Honduras and other countries, would be utilized in the implementation of those programs?

[Cristiani] Obviously the support to agriculture would be in general and not specifically targeted to any group. With two main aspects, agricultural diversification would aim to give all the country's farmers access to the various crops that we might introduce. We all, at least I did before, thought that the ROC produces only rice. However, we learned that rice is a very unimportant crop for the ROC and that asparagus and mushrooms are the ROC's two main income sources. In other words, agricultural diversification has already brought benefits for them.

As for the Land Bank, we would not handle it in a sectarian way either. As you might understand, the Land Bank would involve free will. It would involve people who willfully want to sell land and people who willfully want to acquire a plot of land. That would be the only basis, besides the financial constraints that the project might encounter and the amount of land available. However, it would not be targeted at one group or another, but at those who want to acquire land to practice agriculture.

[Moderator] Any other questions regarding the ROC? Nancy Perla is next.

[Perla] [question indistinct]

[Cristiani] We all believe that the way in which the elections were held in Nicaragua is satisfactory, because all quarters believe that there were free and honest elections. I believe that the fact that Nicaragua might begin a democratization process is not only beneficial for the Nicaraguans themselves, but for the regional problem. First, the very fact that the elections were held is in itself an accomplishment. Second, we must congratulate the winner, Mrs. Chamorro, who won the elections by fair means, although there were many predictions to the contrary. Third, I believe that Daniel Ortega's attitude is praiseworthy, first, for having held the elections in the way they were, and second, for having conceded victory. I believe that this is a good move on his part.

In sum, I believe that it is favorable for Nicaragua to join the democratic process and for the leaders to be elected by the Nicaraguan people. Nevertheless, some things are still unclear about the democratization issue, meaning the latest statements about the Sandinist People's Army [EPS]. We do not think it is very democratic for an army to be under a political party's control. The armed forces of a country should respond to the government regardless of the government's political affiliation, because it should be an army that responds to the country's democracy and the government.

We see that there are still some doubts about this, and we should wait for developments because it would not really be a democratic process if the president were a mere figurehead and if the power were held by the Sandinists. The people would not be allowed to exercise their right to choose their own destiny. Instead, they would be manipulated by the Sandinists. Let us wait and see what happens. I do not want to issue any definite opinion, but it will certainly be an issue that we will be analyzing constantly.

Referring to the effects this might have in the relations between our two countries, I said during the news conference I gave before leaving for the ROC that relations do not depend on the election results per se. The fact is that our country was being attacked by the Nicaraguan Government—the current government, of course—because it was supporting the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front]. That was why we adopted a decision. The change or modification of the Nicaraguan Government's attitude would change our current relations. Nevertheless, I definitely hope that Mrs. Chamorro will not act as Daniel Ortega and the Sandinists have, meaning that they have supported the FMLN; and I predict that if everything goes all right, relations between El Salvador and Nicaragua will be normalized.

The last question referred to the FMLN. I think that the FMLN must realize that the Central American people, including the Nicaraguan people, want to be free to choose their own leaders; and the FMLN has again become an antihistorical movement. The FMLN is going against the world current, meaning that all the countries and the citizens of those countries are seeking their freedom. They are trying to exercise their rights through democratic processes, and I think that the FMLN's position has been defeated.

Talking about support, if we have correctly assessed that Mrs. Chamorro's new government will not help the FMLN, then the latter has also lost a lot in this sense. We see how the FMLN, like Mr. Castro in Cuba, is becoming isolated. In other words, they are swimming against the world current. I hope the FMLN interprets what is happening in a sensible way, that it ends the violence, leaves room for the possibility of resuming the dialogue, and seeks to rejoin the Salvadoran democratic process by abandoning violence. We hope the FMLN realizes this.

[Moderator] Samuel Arias, TCS Television.

[Arias] Mr. President, within this context, will everything that has been happening—the elections in Nicaragua and the changes in other countries—have repercussions at the national level? Will this provide a framework for resuming the dialogue? In addition, what

is the status of the dialogue's renewal, bearing in mind the UN secretary general's mediation?

[Cristiani] The last information we have is the request from Mr. De Soto [not further identified] to visit our country early in March. You may recall that we issued some proposals before we left. He took those proposals to Mexico and presented them to the FMLN. The FMLN, in turn, requested some time to analyze the situation and give a reply. We still have no formal reply and we hope that Mr. De Soto will bring a reply when he arrives. We have always agreed that we should seek an end to the violence in our country through a dialogue process. I believe it now depends on the FMLN and how seriously it wants to find a solution to the conflict, by ending violence and joining the democratic process. That is what should happen. We are waiting for the FMLN's decision.

[Moderator] Alirio Diaz, from Radio Horizonte.

[Diaz] With Violeta Chamorro's triumph in Nicaragua, would it be possible to talk about dialogue as the only solution or perhaps about a military solution now that they [the FMLN guerrillas] will no longer have military support from that country? Is the government still firmly supporting dialogue?

[Cristiani] We maintain our position that the violence must end as soon as possible, and we continue to believe that the process of dialogue and its resumption would be most beneficial.

[Moderator] [words indistinct]

[Reporter] Good morning, Mr. President. My question concerns the presidential summit. Are there any plans for a summit in the next few days? How will the change of a president in the region affect subsequent agreements?

[Cristiani] As you should remember, at the San Isidro de Coronado Summit, we agreed to hold a meeting during the first quarter of the year. I believe that, thus far, we have been waiting for all the changes that had to take place during this period, because many times.... [changes thought] It would be better to hold the summit. We are waiting, because all there is pending is the transfer of power in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. I think we will wait a while, unless there is a specific topic someone wants to discuss. We do not see any reason not to hold a summit. However, I believe the idea is to wait for all changes to take place and to then resume the meetings.

As far as we have seen ,there is not any.... [changes thought] The Costa Rican president-elect, the current Honduran president, and the Nicaraguan president-elect have all expressed their support for the dialogue process and have expressed their intentions to continue with this process until we attain a more long-lasting peace in the region. Therefore, I see no problem with the continuation of the meetings.

[Moderator] Raul Monge, Cadena Radio Centro, from Dallas, Texas.

[Monge] Mr. President, what do you think of the Cuban Government's silence over Mrs. Violeta Chamorro's victory?

[Cristiani] First of all, I think it surprised them. They did not expect it. I believe they were overconfident, as Daniel Ortega was, and thought that the Sandinists were going to win, which obviously did not happen. Second, I believe it remains silent because it is reassessing the situation.

Frankly, it would be too risky to think there is no need to reassess the situation after the events in Nicaragua, not only the Nicaraguan election results, but also events taking place in countries that have not had democracy or liberty and that have been ruled by communist regimes. I imagine, and we hope this will also happen in Cuba so Cuba can join the path other countries have taken.

[Moderator] [words indistinct]

[Reporter] Do you [words indistinct] in Central America?

[Cristiani] Definitely. I believe it is healthy because of the fact that Fidel Castro has tried to promote the overthrow of governments by establishing armed groups with ideologies similar to his own to try to set up a strategy for the colonization of Latin American countries. That is something that is being left behind, and he is being left alone with his conscience.

[Moderator] Maria Cortina from NOTIMEX.

[Cortina] Some Salvadoran political leaders have expressed concern because the triumph of Mrs. Chamorro in Nicaragua could generate a strengthening of the most radical positions within the Army of the ruling party. According to some Salvadoran political leaders, the FMLN capabilities could be underestimated, which could result in a reduction of political opportunities for them and could generate greater violence in the country.

[Cristiani] The Salvadoran Government maintains its stance regarding the dialogue process and its resumption. We believe it constitutes the most expedient way to achieve peace in the country, and we are going to continue along that path.

[Moderator] Aida Montalvo.

[Montalvo] Regarding the renegotiation of the foreign debt, when are you planning to go to Mexico, and how will the Salvadoran debt with that country be renegotiated?

[Cristiani] The timetable for the trip is still undecided. There is no definite date. I think it may take place in April or May of this year. Our first scheduled visit will be to Venezuela.

[Moderator] Carlos Mario Marquez of AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE.

[Marquez] [Words indistinct] social aspects. I would like to know what the status of that is, since some support having primary meetings and then a summit, so to speak?

[Cristiani] I do not think that is the cause of that problem. We said that the resumption of the talks must take place when the FMLN enters the dialogue process with a serious attitude. We maintain our stance that they must stop all violence that is directly and indirectly affecting civilians, that is, all the terrorist activities the FMLN conducts. This is a small request that obtained the support of all the Central American presidents at the San Isidro Coronado meeting in Costa Rica.

I think that this is the cause of the problem. They have asked for changes in format, and we said we had no problem with most of the requests we have received. We are now waiting for the FMLN, since they asked for time to analyze things a little before having the meeting. We are awaiting the visit of Mr. De Soto in early March. Obviously, the dialogue has not taken place because there are some differences, [words indistinct]. I think the chief difference is that the FMLN does not want to agree to stop terrorist actions, and that is why there is no dialogue now.

[Moderator] Epigmenio Ibarra.

[Ibarra] Mr. President, yesterday in Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega said at a rally that he will wage a constructive opposition. He said that the revolution did not die with the elections. He said that the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] will rule from below. We sense a pretty complex climate for the transition in Nicaragua. What do you think about Daniel Ortega's statements? How do you view the possibility that there may actually be a transition from power to power instead of a transition of government in Nicaragua?

[Cristiani] As I have said before, statements by Ortega and other representatives of the Sandinist Front are a source of concern. They could indicate that the elections may have been very free and honest, but also a farce as far as improving the democratic process is concerned. The Nicaraguan people would be denied the right to freely pick their rulers and the right of these rulers to act as they deem best. I would say that the Nicaraguan revolution does not only belong to the FSLN. The FSLN was one of the participants in the revolution in Nicaragua against Anastasio Somoza. The fact is that a consensus existed among all sectors that supported that revolution. The FSLN has no monopoly on or exclusive control over that revolution.

I believe that in ideological terms there are differences between the views of Ms. Chamorro and UNO [National Opposition Union]—that is, the new government-elect—and the views of the FSLN. Yet, the people picked the government. It is worrisome to hear some statements to the effect that the FSLN will rule from below. We believe they would seek to do that by keeping control over the Army. Let me repeat: There is nothing democratic about a political party controlling the Army. The Army must respond to the government and the country's democratic process, and not to just one political party. We believe things have not been settled yet. We believe that there are still many things left pending.

[Moderator] Maria de Dolores Arjac.

[Arjac] It is said that aid to El Salvador was stopped [word indistinct] for aid to Panama. Could it not happen—with Mrs. Chamorra's victory—that readjustments are made in aid to several Central American countries, including El Salvador? In this respect, the FRG Government has already renewed aid to El Salvador, but not to other countries. How do you see this situation?

[Cristiani] Well, this could well happen, as, obviously, the U.S. Government and the Senate and House of Representatives are free to give aid to whatever country they believe it is advisable to do so. Certainly there is a new situation, and many have expressed today that they are willing to help Nicaragua, as well as Panama and others. This situation could perfectly well reduce the amount of aid to El Salvador. This is a possibility.

[Moderator] Juan Burgos of InterPress Service.

[Burgos] [Passage indistinct] UN secretary general that are interpreted as that pressure was applied to you and to the Armed Forces commanders by some political leaders?

[Cristiani] I can tell you very clearly, and I believe that the UN secretary general can testify to my statements, that our position has been fitting and consistent and that we maintain the position we expressed to him at present. We did place a precondition that the FMLN stop all terrorist actions. It is hard to understand that the United Nations, an organization that has condemned terrorism, cannot back our position, as we are trying to eliminate FMLN terrorist actions. But we have not changed our position, and it is the same one we expressed to the UN secretary general.

[Moderator] Margarita Artega of ACAN-EFE.

[Artega] Mr. President, I would like to ask you if the mobilization of peasants today [words indistinct] could be an announcement that the state of siege is about to be lifted, as, supposedly, concentrations and mobilizations are prohibited?

[Cristiani] It depends on the security situation. The state of siege is not permanent. We must analyze the context of the threat that might exist with regard to security. We have read some reports, though we have not yet confirmed them, claiming the FMLN has said that it does not intend to launch any more offensives. It is a good sign that the FMLN is looking for a way to a dialogue, and this could produce the lifting of the state of siege. As

you know, the state of siege has been greatly reduced. It is not the same. We have been reducing it progressively and it is now strictly what is necessary for national security.

[Moderator] Francisco Espinosa for ABC News.

[Espinoza] [passage indistinct]

[Cristiani] Well, I do not know. I believe that for a dialogue to take place, the precondition has to be met, regardless of Nicarguan election results and what it means for the FMLN. Our position is based on principles, on the principle that the people not continue to suffer the violence generated by FMLN terrorism. Thus, this is something that has to be met, regardless of the elections. Obviously, I believe the results of the Nicaraguan elections will affect the FMLN in some measures, and this could include... [changes thought] I do not know. We would have to see what position they will take in the future, but it could be. Obviously a change has occurred, and it will have an impact and could move the FMLN to change its position.

[Moderator] [Name indistinct] from NEWSWEEK.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] that it is impossible for the Salvadoran Army to win the war. Is that true?

[Cristiani] No. In fact, during my conversation with him he told me that that was not the meaning he had tried to convey with his statement.

We believe that, militarily speaking, the Salvadoran Armed Forces have been making progress over the years and have been increasingly weakening the FMLN.

We have also stated that despite the military improvement our Armed Forces have experienced, we believe a military solution will take a long time and will entail a great deal of bloodshed and destruction. That is why the government has chosen a political solution to our conflict.

[Moderator] Henry Briggs from REUTER.

[Briggs] Mr. President, as for the Nicaraguan elections, you said that Daniel Ortega deserves some respect for holding these elections, which were basically free elections. I want to know whether the Nicaraguan election results have given you some kind of hope that perhaps leftists are not so dogmatic or not so Marxist-Leninist? Did the Nicaraguan election results lead you to think that perhaps the FMLN has a [word indistinct] role in this country's political life?

[Cristiani] The FMLN has that role as long as it participates in the country's political life instead of destroying it. We have always stated that the FMLN can very well lay down its weapons, become a political party, and act as such. If that happened, the Salvadoran people would have another option from which to choose their president. As long as the FMLN insists on solving the country's problems through violence, it will not be doing anything positive for our country.

[Moderator] At this point, we are supposed to take questions in English, but perhaps our colleagues are still in Managua. Thus, I believe, Mr. President, that this will be all. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

[Cristiani] Fine. Thank you.

[Reporter] [passage indistinct]

[Cristiani] [Words indistinct] before entering the Church.

[Reporter] [Passage indistinct] that you invited them to attend a forum to discuss the new economic measures. They, however, claimed that you did not invite them in an official manner. One of the conditions they set forth was the abolition or at least the modification of the new economic measures.

[Cristiani] No. I only invited them to hold a public discussion on the country's economic problems and their solutions. Obviously some of the solutions the government is presenting are confusing sometimes. The adoption of an economic policy is the adoption of a solution. A measure is a response to a reality, a response to something that is already there. Sometimes those two things get confused. We are not going to abolish any of our measures just because the other parties want us to do so. Before making such demands, they should talk to us. They should present other alternatives to solve the country's economic problems.

We invited them to discuss the country's problems. There is a great deal of criticism but very little contribution. Thus, we said: All right. Let their criticism turn into contribution, but let it do so in front of the television cameras or before the media in general. In that way, we will discuss the country's problems and all Salvadorans will be fully aware of our problems.

I would like to know what President Menem would say down there in Argentina with all the economic problems he has. I would like to know what he would say if other political party leaders came up to him and told him that for them to attend a public discussion, he would have to abolish all the measures he has adopted. That seems a little inconsistent to me.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] that forum?

[Cristiani] Whenever they want to. That would not be a problem. Obviously, it is a matter of agreeing on....

[Reporter] [words indistinct]

[Cristiani] Some modifications may be possible, but not changes.

[Reporter] [words indistinct]

[Cristiani, in English] First of all, we view the fact that the Nicaraguan elections have been fair, free, and honest

as very positive. We believe that this is a good time with respect to the [word indistinct] of democracy in Nicaragua. We feel that in this case it is the Nicaraguan people who are the victors, because they have freely chosen the government they want.

Secondly, we obviously have to extend our congratulations to Mrs. Chamorro for winning those elections in the way that she did, even with everybody kind of betting against her. But she kept her enthusiasm and her confidence, and continued and finally won.

I think we must mention something here about Daniel Ortega, in the sense that he did allow free and fair elections to take place and initially accepted defeat in that election.

However, there are some things that are troubling us, namely the latest declarations made by him, by Daniel Ortega and other representatives of the Sandinist Front, with respect to governing from below—I think that is the phrase they used—and the fact that the Sandinist Front will keep control over the Sandinist Army and the Interior Ministry, if I am not mistaken—at least that is what I read in the news. And, therefore, it does not seem like it is a total advancement in a democratic process, because obviously it is not very democratic to have the armed forces of a country under the control of one of its political parties. The armed forces of a country should respond to the democratic process and to the government that is legitimately elected by the people. And therefore, this would curtail the freedom of choice of the Nicaraguan people in trying to control and govern the country, even though it is not from the position of being president of the country. Secondly, I think that I have mentioned before that it is not the result of the election that will change our attitude with respect to our diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, but rather the attitude of the Nicaraguan Government with respect to aid to the FMLN, to the Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador. And in this case we still have not seen that change taking place. Obviously, we feel that with Mrs. Chamorro as president of Nicaragua this aid will stop and therefore make it easier for the resumption of normal relations between El Salvador and Nicaragua, but it is that attitude that would make a change and not necessarily the result in itself.

With respect to the third question, obviously I think that if Mrs. Chamorro really is in control, in total control, especially of the Sandinista Army, that there will be a stop in aid, and therefore the FMLN would not have Nicaragua's logistical and military support for them. And therefore, this certainly affects them.

[Reporter, in English] I think that about one week ago or two weeks ago in THE WASHINGTON POST there was a report that Colonel Benavides was living a rather luxurious life. I do not know if you have seen that piece. And also, the U.S. Ambassador William Walker has said that he felt that it was time that, well, the article implies that there was some pressure, or there was some protection coming from the Tandona [reference to the 1966 graduating class of the Captain General Gerardo Barrios Military Academy] to protect Benavides, because he [words indistinct] their men and that some lower lieutenants were not going to be receiving any sort of protection and they may have to take the fault for what has happened. And also William Walker had said that he felt that it was time for some of the people in the Tandona to step down and for other officers to move up. What do you think about that [word indistinct]? Should there be that kind of pressure? Should some of the guys in the Tandona step down from their posts?

[Cristiani, in English] Well, I think that it is not really the determining factor whether you belong to a specific graduating class within the Armed Forces that should be what determines whether you continue or not, or be removed or not from the Armed Forces. It is your own performance and your own behavior that should be the determining factor.

So, therefore, it is not necessarily that the Tandona people, just for being members of the graduating class, [chuckles] that action should be taken against them. So I think that in that case that is not really the point.

With respect to the other case, I think it is now in the hands of the judicial system in the country on how it goes, what type of defense those that have been arraigned have. I think that they all are receiving the legal support in the case and the other [words indistinct].

[Reporter, in English] As for the dialogue with the guerrillas, before you left for Taiwan you conditioned the dialogue on a ceasing of acts of violence. To be specific, does this mean [words indistinct] all acts of violence? And also, when do you think that this dialogue can actually take place?

[Cristiani, in English] Well, if we could try and put into one basket and call that basket with a name with respect to the actions, we are asking the FMLN to stop terrorist activities, because terrorist activity is affecting the civilian population. You just mentioned the fact about a pole that they use for electrical distribution in the country. Just last night they blew up one and there are two people hurt. Two civilians that were passing by were hurt by that explosion. So that is what has to stop. The FMLN has to stop all terrorist activity, because that is the activity that hurts the civilian population. That is not military activity—that is something geared against or to confront the Armed Forces. So it is that violence that can be summed up in what is called terrorism that we are asking for—those activities that really affect the civilian population of the country.

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Cristiani, in English] It has to stop at least the day that this dialogue is reinitiated. As you recall, the five Central American presidents asked for a public declaration from the FMLN saying that it will [words indistinct] activities. Whether it will be possible to have [words indistinct] is not really the case. That is past. Our precondition is that

when the dialogue process is reinitiated—at least at that point in time and from then on—the process should go on without return to violence and to activities that are going on now.

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Cristiani, in English] I think that it should be reinitiated tomorrow, but the FMLN is the one that does not really want to [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Cristiani, in English] Could be. That would be a better question for the FMLN. [long pause follows]

[Unidentified speaker, in Spanish] Let us now read Communique No. 3, which is the communique of [word indistinct].

With the intention of demonstrating the seriousness and responsibility with which the Salvadoran Government is acting in the case of INPEP [National Institute of Government Employee Pensions], the government is hereby issuing a third communique regarding that case. The communique basically says: On 1 June 1989, the day on which President Alfredo Cristiani assumed the Salvadoran presidency, he promised to vigorously and mercilessly fight corruption, because the Salvadoran people had unmistakably ordered him to eradicate it.

The fulfillment of that promise not only includes, but begins by, eradicating government corruption. That entails even more careful surveillance in cases such as the recent investigation of the embezzlement problem at INPEP. This case of corruption placed the funds allocated to paid public employees' pensions at stake.

The provisional arrest of three people who are involved in this case proves the seriousness with which our auxiliary justice bodies that are in charge of the aforementioned investigation have acted.

The case was taken to the judicial authorities, and therefore the judicial authorities are the ones that will determine whether the persons implicated in this case are guilty or innocent.

The Salvadoran Government urges the country's democratic parties not to politicize corruption cases and their corresponding investigations, and to cooperate in the struggle against something that could become an extremely serious flaw in our society.

The Salvadoran Government is proud to defend the principle of honesty in the handling of public funds, and it is sure that it can count on the citizens' reiterated support to continue fighting corruption regardless of where it comes from. Thank you very much.

Guatemala

Cerezo Satisfied With Nicaraguan Election Result

PA0103030090 Paris AFP in Spanish 0156 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Guatemala City, 28 Feb (AFP)—President Vinicio Cerezo said today he was "very satisfied" with the results of the Nicaraguan elections and predicted that the disappearance of the extremist groups in Central America "is only a matter of time."

The Nicaraguan elections held on 25 February confirmed that dialogue and negotiation "are the best path to achieve peace," the Christian Democratic president said at a meeting with foreign reporters. Cerezo said that "it did not matter who won the election. The important thing was to demonstrate the viability of the regional peace process," initiated in 1987 with the signing of the Esquipulas II agreement.

"We congratulate Mrs. Chamorro for her victory and for being the first woman president in Central America. We are ready to cooperate with her in every possible way to contribute to bringing Nicaragua forward," the president added.

Cerezo, 48, whose term ends next January, expressed the hope that the transition of power in Nicaragua will take place peacefully.

At the same time Cerezo said his government is ready to talk with the guerrilla groups that have operated in Guatemala for almost 30 years, as long as the "conversations are conducted seriously."

"We are ready to give them every assurance that they may need to rejoin legal life, to participate in the political process," the president said, adding that "the real problem is that they cannot change their opinion and betray the people."

Regarding the heightened guerrilla actions in different parts of the country over the past few weeks, the president said that what the rebels seek with these actions is to "provoke the Army."

"We will not fall into that trap. What they want is to return to the time when the Army repressed the people, who presumably were cooperating with the guerrillas, but we are not going to do that," Cerezo stated.

The president explained that for reasons of "austerity" he will not attend the inauguration of the Chilean and Brazilian Presidents-elect, Patricio Aylwyn and Fernando Color de Mello, respectively, in March.

He confirmed, however, that he will probably travel to Mexico and Venezuela in April.

Swedish Embassy Guard Found Murdered

LD0103113290 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] A security guard at the Swedish Embassy in Guatemala City was found beaten and shot dead yesterday. The embassy guard has been strengthened and authorities in Guatemala have started an investigation into the murder. In January, there were several bomb threats against the embassy and against the residence of Swedish Ambassador Ulf Lewin, but the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm does not want to report more specifically on what could be behind the bomb threats. The murdered security guard in Guatemala City was hired from a local security company.

Nicaragua

Government Decrees Cease-Fire; Issues Demands

PA2802150390 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1422 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Communique from the Presidency of the Republic; read by Information and Press Minister Manuel Espinoza in Managua—live]

[Text] The Directorate of Information and Press of the Presidency of the Republic reports that the president of the Republic has decided to order, effective today, a unilateral ceasing of offensive military operations, with the intention that the counterrevolutionary forces may immediately proceed to their demobilization within the mechanisms of the CIAV [International Commission of Support and Verification] and as stated in the agreements signed in Tela and San Isidro de Coronado by the Central American presidents.

The Nicaraguan Government also demands that the U.S. Government—given that free, just, and honest elections were held in our country as it has been universally recognized—put an end to all the support given to the counterrevolution and proceed to transfer the available financial resources to the CIAV for the immediate demobilization of those forces. It likewise demands that the Honduran Government immediately proceed to dismantle the counterrevolutionary camps in its territory.

Managua, 28 February 1990.
Year of peace and reconstruction.

Contras Reject Ortega Demobilization Demand

PA0103010790 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2124 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 28 Feb (DPA)—The Nicaraguan contras today rejected the Sandinist conditions that they be demobilized before power is turned over to Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, who won the 25 February presidential elections.

Nicaraguan President and Sandinist leader Daniel Ortega stated yesterday, after meeting with the rest of the commanders, that they had agreed to request the demobilization of the contras and respect for the Army as conditions before handing over power this coming April.

Contra spokesman Alejandro Acevedo stated today in Tegucigalpa that the Sandinists are simply "crazy" and what they seek with their demand for demobilization is to stay in power.

The spokesman said that his forces will negotiate with Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro in this regard and not with the Sandinist leadership. He said they have sent a letter to the victorious candidate expressing the viewpoints of the Nicaraguan Resistance (RN) and congratulating her on her victory.

He said that the contras insist that to demobilize their forces, the Sandinist repressive institutions, in which they include the Defense Ministry and the Security Police, must be dismantled.

Acevedo said that Ortega's proposal to maintain the Sandinist People's Army intact means that they seek to remain in power and have a puppet government if the military structures are not dismantled in Nicaragua.

The contra spokesman admitted that they have engaged in dialogue with Crescencio Arcos, U.S. ambassador in Honduras, to discuss the future of the RN. It was reported that the contras have been informed in Washington that there is no reason for the armed struggle to continue.

Chamorro, Godoy Hold News Conference

PA2802233590 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Feb 90

[News conference by President-elect Violeta de Chamorro and Vice President-elect Virgilio Godoy with local and foreign reporters at the Bambana Restaurant in Managua—live; monitored in progress]

[Text] [Chamorro].... those who [word indistinct] to lay down their rifles and return peacefully to Nicaragua with their [word indistinct] to work for our homeland's reconstruction.

I also wish to inform you that at 1830 on 26 February, I was visited by President Daniel Ortega; my son Carlos Fernando Chamorro, current chief editor of the newspaper BARRICADA, the official organ of the Sandinist Front; and by Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. President Ortega was accompanied by representatives of the Jimmy Carter organization, by the gentlemen of the [word indistinct], by many of the election observers who came to our country, and by Mr Richardson. President Ortega came to visit me to tell me he is ready to turn over power [words indistinct].

We held a cordial conversation. I asked Ortega to please ask his supporters to stop inciting people over the radio

[words indistinct]. I asked him to order all the young men who work with him and those who work for the Sandinist papers to soften their aggresive tone, because we do not want the problems we currently have in the streets. There are many problems. We want [words indistinct] and we want to become an example for all of Nicaragua.

The incidents that took place yesterday and the day before are [word indistinct] people who never thought that they would win—that they would lose, I mean. They are perhaps a bit sad. However, they must accept reality because these elections were conducted peacefully. Through the secret ballot of the people UNO [National Opposition Union] won. The entire world knows now that UNO—with Violeta as its leader—won the Nicaraguan elections. I will now give the floor to my vice president, Virgilio Godoy. He will tell you all he has to tell you. We tell one another everything that happens to us. [applause]

[Godoy] [Passage indistinct] president-elect of Nicaragua, Mrs. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro.

It is my responsibility to tell you that I am deeply concerned about the [words indistinct] incidents that are taking place [words indistinct].

I want to refer to a [words indistinct]. First, [words indistinct] the country and which is becoming a victim of [words indistinct] the UNO party poll representatives who worked on the Sunday, 25 February elections. [Words indistinct] in Managua, in Chontales, in Carazo, and in almost all the departments [words indistinct] wave of violence, especially promoted by [words indistinct] radio stations such as [words indistinct] La Voz de Nicaragua and Radio Sandino. Instead of promoting tranquility and harmony, those radio stations are promoting those types of actions.

In addition, many UNO poll representatives have been imprisoned [words indistinct]. We also want to [words indistinct] that up until today, the electoral authorities are maintaining absolute silence [words indistinct] concerning election results for municipal authorities. [Passage indistinct] for president and vice president and regarding election results were [word indistinct]. Frankly speaking, we cannot understand why [passage indistinct] counting of the [words indistinct].

We believe that last Sunday, the triumph of the currents that [words indistinct] faced with a peaceful existence [words indistinct]. For that reason, we understood that our election results had to be clear.

[Words indistinct] in the sense that public officials and secretaries of the Region III Electoral Council in southern Managua have authority [words indistinct] legal for them that to dedicate themselves [word indistinct] votes of UNO exclusively in the process of [words indistinct] until they reach the amount [words indistinct] fortunately, the 30,000 annulled votes. This is to be done independently of whether [words indistinct] for them to center a campaign against the [words indistinct]. UNO militants who are going to want that a [word indistinct] of deputies, including those of [words indistinct] for the final vote count, given the amount of votes by people [words indistinct]. Thank you. [applause]

[Chamorro] I totally [word indistinct] with what Dr. Virgilio Godoy has just said to you. We won by a majority and we have also won in everything. On the other hand, I want to announce that when Daniel Ortega came to my house, with all the observers and representatives, it was stated that talks to ease the transition process were beginning, talks to see how they [words indistinct] would give power to us. I then designated my campaign leader, Engineer Tony Lacayo, to head the transition period. Yesterday, Daniel Ortega called to report that his brother was going to head [words indistinct]. I believe now is the time for Tony, Eng. Antonio Lacayo, to give you details of the talks yesterday, because I believe that these are good avenues and not avenues of retreat. We are going forward, and we are not going to back down or renounce our rights. It is good to talk so that the transition can be resolved as soon as possible. Antonio?

[Anchorman] Antonio Lacayo is now taking [words indistinct] who heads the transition of power committee. [words indistinct]

[Lacayo] [passage indistinct]

[Moderator] We will now go to the question and answer period. [words indistinct] Please, let us have some order. Mr. Ivan [not further identified] is first. Please. I am following the order established.

[Ivan] President Ortega said that, acting within the Constitution's framework, the Sandinist Front was going to defend the integrity and territoriality of [word indistinct]. It has also been stated that [words indistinct] an amount of resistance from the Sandinist Front to turn over the command of the Defense and Interior Ministries. What would be your conditions to accept these demands and [words indistinct] Nicaragua to defend its sovereignty?

[Chamorro] I will answer you by telling you what we talked about in our meeting on 26 February—after UNO was proclaimed as winner of the election—Daniel Ortega committed himself to turn over everything. He is now saying things that are different from what he said during our meeting, probably because he wants to calm down his militants' spirit; however, he must turn over power. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] Please identify yourself.

[Reporter] [words indistinct] What will be your government's position regarding the training here in Nicaragua of certain groups of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] of El Salvador? It is also

known that the FMLN political-diplomatic commission is operating here. Also that Radio Venceremos [words indistinct]?

[Chamorro] I will let Dr. Virgilio Godoy answer that question.

[Godoy] [words indistinct]

[Moderator] Mr. Collins.

[Collins] This is Peter Collins of the ABC Network. [Words indistinct] yesterday the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] issued a communique stating that the Sandinist Party would continue to control the EPS [Sandinist People's Army] and the secret police and vowed that no government would be dissolved for political reasons. In other words, they want to govern from below, as they said. My question is: [Words indistinct] what is your decision?

[Chamorro] My decision, my decision; [repeats herself] whether you have heard it or not, according to the Constitution of the Republic, I am the one who is going to govern this country. [applause]

[Reporter] This morning the National Assemby secretary said that it would be very difficult for the party that won the elections to amend the Constitution. During the campaign it was said that the Army should not be called the EPS or Interior Ministry [as heard]. They argue that the support of 60 percent, or more than 60 percent, of assembly members would be needed for you to make that constitutional amendment. What is your view on this?

[Chamorro] I have already expressed my viewpoint. However, I will allow my vice president to answer you.

[Godoy] There seem to be contradictions in the statements [words indistinct] Mrs. Chamorro will be able to do exactly the same by using the broad powers [words indistinct] the Republic's Constitution [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [words indistinct]

[Announcer] This is the news conference by Nicaraguan President-Elect Mrs Violeta Barrios de Chamorro at the Bambana Restaurant.

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Chamorro] I will answer first, and then Dr Godoy. Relations with the United States, with Europe, with al-Qadhdhafi, and with the whole world are wonderful, sir. Read the wire messages in case you have not read them. [applause]

[?Godoy] [17-second passage indistinct] although, for historical reasons, there will be [words indistinct] relations with Central America, [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Chamorro] Relations will be better than they were under Daniel Ortega. [applause] I mentioned this issue a few days ago when we had a gathering with a group of ambassadors and he [words indistinct]. I told him: Everything will be better!

[Reporter] [words indistinct] What will be the position of the new Nicaraguan Government regarding the Latin American foreign debt? [words indistinct]

[Chamorro] I will let my adviser Dr. Francisco Mayorga answer your question.

[Mayorga] The problem of the Nicaraguan foreign debt is even greater than [words indistinct] Latin American countries, independently from the fact that Nicaragua will continue in solidarity with the Latin American [10-second passage indistinct]. In the case of Nicaragua, we will be waiting for [words indistinct] especially from Europe, [16-second passage indistinct] [applause]

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Chamorro] Please repeat your question. We cannot hear you.

[Reporter] What will happen with the thousands of international volunteers currently working in [words indistinct] Nicaragua?

[Godoy] [16-second passage indistinct] There are various kinds of international volunteers here. Those who arrived [words indistinct] with the red and black handkerchief [passage indistinct] [applause] [words indistinct] There are other kinds of international volunteers who have come to work, to [words indistinct]. They will always be welcomed [words indistinct]. [applause]

[Announcer] This is Radio Corporacion broadcasting the news conference by the UNO presidential ticket.

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Chamorro] My dear friend, please ask the U.S. President that question.

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Moderator] The reporter was asking what will happen with the [words indistinct] Cubans currently in our country.

[Chamorro] Will you please repeat your first question?

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Chamorro] First of all, yesterday he came to visit me. He was very emotional. He is a very emotional person. I told him not to worry because they are Nicaraguans and are entitled to stay in their fatherland. Of course, they have to hand over total power to me. I told him in front of all the representatives who were there, Mr. James Carter, Mr. Elliot Richardson, Mr. Joao Baena Soares—I am not lying— you are Nicaraguans, I love you, but if you [words indistinct] that is another matter. I do not

want their weapons. I told him [words indistinct] the countries that sent those weapons. Even the Berlin Wall fell, and all socialist countries are changing. Our own wall fell too. They must hand over power and will have a very small armed force, in a democratic manner, and not what we have now. Mr. Humberto Ortega will leave power. I will appoint a representative. [applause]

[Reporter] [words indistinct]

[Chamorro] Yes, of course. Democracy means not (?wearing a green uniform) and [words indistinct]. [passage indistinct] Since yesterday, I have received hundreds of letters from the representatives of all democratic countries, even from the Soviet Union, backing our process and saying that the aid that will come will be greater [words indistinct] for Nicaragua and our democratic institutions. They are coming to work [words indistinct]. [applause] [passage indistinct]

I want to thank you for your concern, but we must leave because we have to work for the future of this country. Thank you.

Ortega Warns Chamorro Against 'Radical' Measures

PA2802195990 Paris AFP in Spanish 1925 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Managua, 28 Feb (AFP)—Outgoing President Daniel Ortega today warned the new government, headed by Violeta de Chamorro, that the Sandinist revolution "cannot be wiped out." Otherwise, he said, "the people led by the Sandinist Front will take action to exercise their rights."

During an assembly with committees of solidarity from all over the world, the president said that although he lost the elections on 25 February, "this revolution has not been betrayed."

Stating that "no one wants war," Ortgega advised the future government to avoid adopting measures that are "radical and absurd."

Sandinist Carlos Carrion Views Election Results

PA2802181190 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 27 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

["Exclusive" interview with Sandinist leader Carlos Carrion, minister delegate for Region III; place and date not given]

[Text] [BARRICADA] The National Opposition Union [UNO] coalition won the elections. Do you think that the voting results represent antagonism against the revolution?

[Carrion] No. If UNO believes that the voting means that the people are politically and ideologically identified with its organization, UNO would be making a big error. The votes were not for the right or against the revolution. The votes are a result of the desperation produced by the economic crisis and the fear that the United States would not provide economic aid to Nicaragua.

I believe that the people did not vote in favor of the guardsmen or the contras, but in favor of hope for an immediate improvement of the economic situation.

I think the UNO leaders should realize that the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] is the country's main political force. The guardsmen, imperialism, and 14 parties had to get together to induce the people to vote for UNO.

It would be a mistake to try to govern without taking the FSLN into consideration because the FSLN is the force that can guarantee political stability, and this will also be true when it becomes the opposition, because it is the only party that has enough cohesion, credibility, and leadership capability.

We will win with popular backing again.

[BARRICADA] What role will the FSLN members and supporters play in this new phase?

[Carrion] The FSLN had 60,000 members before the beginning of the election campaign effort but the campaign made it evident that the FSLN's strength throughout the country is much greater. The FSLN also has the most solid and firm political membership in the country.

We are asking all FSLN members to meet with FSLN sympathizers and voters and to remain alert to contribute to the political process that has been inevitably opened and to tell everybody, including those who voted for UNO, that we are the political option that can defend their interests and national stability.

We are working to maintain the cohesion and unity of our forces. We are not going to be in a state of shock as a result of the election results because we have gone through more difficult times. We have heard the requiem chanted for us on several occasions and the FSLN has always emerged as a winner with the support of the people.

[BARRICADA] Do the Sandinists feel crushed?

[Carrion] Not in the least. We cannot hide the fact that the first reaction was one of indignation and bitterness, but this quickly turned into a disposition to struggle and defend, from the opposition, the principles we advocate.

Hundreds of fellow FSLN militants who have been in retirement have called to put themselves at the disposal of zone leaders to start working immediately for the future. The FSLN will not be daunted by the election results. The Nicaraguan people must continue counting on this force, the strongest, the most progressive and reliable force for accomplishing the most important tasks. No one is deserting the FSLN.

I am sure that soon the confused who voted for UNO will realize the difference between the FSLN men and women and the UNO representatives.

The FSLN will govern again.

[BARRICADA] Are Managua's empty streets an indication of something?

[Carrion] Yes. This confirms that not even those who voted for UNO are happy. I am sure that many of them are afraid and thinking about the consequences of their fatal decision.

I have no doubt that the FSLN will win the next elections. I believe that the fact that we are the party with majority backing will become evident well before the six-year presidential term expires.

Observers Comment on U.S. Support for UNO

PA0103043290 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 28 Feb 90 p 12

[Text] Dr. Meyer Brownstone, president of OXFAM [Oxford Committee for Famine Relief] - Canada, who headed that country's observers to the Nicaraguan electoral campaign, yesterday said that based on the first mission sent to Nicaragua and documents to which his group had access, "the amount of money spent by the United States on the UNO [National Opposition Union] campaign is astonishing."

Dr. Meyer emphatically said that there was an unwarranted intervention by a sovereign state against another sovereign state and that the group will point this out to the Canadian Government.

On behalf of the nine observers who moved about the country, Meyer also expressed his astonishment over the fact that they were not able to detect any visible signs as to how UNO [National Opposition Union] spent the millions of dollars it received from the U.S. administration.

"UNO did not produce much propaganda, not even at their campaign headquarters," he said. Meyer added that regardless of how the money was spent, UNO implemented a lackluster but efficient campaign nonetheless.

A journalist said that UNO received more than $12 million from the gringo government and possibly several million more from other sources. He also said that a Honduran station reported that the rightist coalition was buying peasant votes for $50 in the northern area.

Meyer said that they have no direct evidence of that, but added that another observer reported having been told in Bluefields that UNO had sent money as well as vehicles and boats, which remained in the city after the campaign.

In expressing his concern, the observer pointed out that the logical thing to do would be to purchase paint and other traditional campaign materials.

In response to a question by EL NUEVO DIARIO as to whether UNO purchased votes with the money given to it by the Bush administration, observer Francoise Davis said that one should not say that, because it would constitute an insult to the people.

However, she admitted that the results of the 25 February elections are closely linked to a U.S. strategy aimed at destabilizing the Nicaraguan Government for the past 10 years.

We could say that economic problems and the need to fight the armed counterrevolution worked in UNO's favor.

In conclusion, we believe that the U.S. Government is very happy over the election results, she added.

In their official report, the Canadian observers stressed the honesty and fairness of the electoral process and added that the outcome was a surprise, because all evidence had pointed to an FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] victory.

They noted that the free elections attest to the efficiency of the Sandinist government and its achievements of the past 10 years, during which it gave Nicaragua agrarian reform, social programs, democratic institutions, civic awareness, and a new national identity.

As for UNO's determination to consolidate the people's achievements, one of the observers pointed out that, during a meeting with a representative of that coalition to discuss that issue, he got the impression that UNO was being defensive. "We did not feel that they had a complete and coherent program in keeping with basic values," he added.

More to the point, another Canadian observer pointed out that during a meeting with a UNO legal representative in Region V, the representative told him that he had noticed a sharp drop in the yield of land that is in the hands of peasants, and, therefore, there are plans to take it away from them.

Christian Democratic International Views Election

PA0103012290 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 27 Feb 90 p 12

[Communique issued by the Christian Democratic International observer delegation to the Nicaraguan elections in Managua on 26 February]

[Text] At the request of Nicaraguan authorities, a delegation of observers from the I.D.C. [Christian Democratic International] came to Nicaragua to monitor the development of the elections of 25 February. During its stay, the delegation had the opportunity to meet on several occasions with political and government leaders as well as with the Supreme Electoral Council [CSE].

These contacts were of utmost interest to learn about the electoral process and, in this context, it must be stressed

that we were able to see the impetus that inter-American cooperation gave to the progress toward democracy.

We also verified that most of the political parties unquestionably wished the elections to be free, secret, and honest.

During the electoral process, the delegation was able to visit various vote-counting boards in several communities in the country. We also verified that the elections were correctly organized and that freedom of suffrage was guaranteed. The vote count was also carried out correctly.

During the meetings, we perceived a strange polarization, which was confirmed by the election results.

The delegation is pleased that inter-American cooperation was able to contribute in a very important way to a continued process of democratization, which is bound to exert a powerful influence in the region.

We also express our hope and wish that all political forces and the whole world will recognize and respect the election results so in the future the Nicaraguan people will be able to develop in peace through reconciliation and economic and social progress, regarding which the Western world, and the United States in particular, has a specific responsibility.

The delegation was concerned to notice that the democratic forces were not united in this electoral process. Because of this, the impact of the Christian democratic ideology was weakened and to a level that is below its real value. The delegation hopes the leaders of the Nicaraguan Christian democratic parties will do everything possible to change this situation. Only through unity can Nicaraguan Christian democrats play a relevant role in promoting the values of social justice.

The delegation feels that the role of the observers has been important and that, since the electoral process will not end until 25 April with the transfer of power, it would be advisable for the international observers, particularly the OAS, to remain in Nicaragua until then.

The delegation cordially congratulates the winners of the elections.

Managua, 26 February 1990

Soldier Discloses Location of Huge Arms Cache

PA2802200090 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 26 Feb 90 p 12

[Text] As our entire editing, composing, and photocomposing staff listened attentively to President Ortega's speech at 0600 today, a Sandinist People's Army [EPS] soldier burst into our office asking for a reporter and a photographer, saying: "They are going to hand out the weapons."

No one believed what they heard. For a few minutes we left Ortega to listen to the serviceman's testimony. He also asked what to do to ensure that these weapons were not misused.

This was a hot news item for our reporters. Straight away two men armed with pens and a camera asked the soldier to take them to the garrison.

After giving the address, the soldier requested that a foreign photographer from REUTER, who was awaiting today's special edition of our paper, go along with our expedition.

The soldier explained that he wanted an international reporter to go along so the world could see that they [not further indentified] had the weapons and to serve as a witness to ensure that these weapons were not handed out to anyone.

The soldier led the reporters to a warehouse, which once had belonged to the Julio Martinez Tire Retreading Company, located one block to the south, explaining that at that location there was a huge arms cache.

"We believe someone must take charge of these arms because it is dangerous for them to be here," three very nervous soldiers said. They added that they feared being attacked by Sandinist fanatics who may use the weapons against people who voted for UNO [National Oppostion Union].

Our journalists reported this and informed the international observers.

Panama

Foreign Ministry To Grant Safe-Conduct Passes

PA0103042990 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] This afternoon at a news conference, the Panamanian Government, through the Foreign Ministry, announced its decision to grant safe-conduct passes for leaving the country to the family of former General Manuel Antonio Noriega; namely, his wife Felicidad Siero de Noriega and his daughters Sandra, Thais, and Lorena, who sought refuge at the Cuban Embassy, as well as to several of his associates who took refuge at other Latin American missions. Julio Berrio, the director of the Foreign Ministry's legal affairs office, talks about the granting of safe-conduct passes to civilians and military men of the previous regime.

[Begin Berrio recording] The Foreign Ministry respectfully salutes the Embassy of Nicaragua, and is honored to inform it that safe-conduct passes will be granted to the following persons: Baltazar Renan Aizpurua and Zelideth Rosales de Aizpurura. The aforementioned persons are accused of perpetrating the common crime known as justifying a crime. Bail can be posted for this crime, as it is punishable with less than five years in jail.

The Foreign Ministry respectfully salutes the Embassy of Ecuador, and is honored to inform it that a safe-conduct pass will be granted to Mr. Humberto Lopez Tirone, who is currently being investigated for destroying a private car and firing into the air during a peaceful protest organized by the National Civic Crusade in June 1987.

The Foreign Ministry respectfully salutes the Embassy of Peru and is honored to inform it that Mrs. Marcela Tason will immediately receive a safe-conduct pass, as Mrs. Tason is not charged with the commission of any common crime. A safe-conduct pass will also be granted to Mr. Edgardo Lopez Grimaldo, who is currently being investigated for destroying several radio stations that broadcast the declaration issued by officers who rebelled on 3 October 1989 against then-commander Manuel Antonio Noriega of the defunct Panama Defense Forces. [end recording]

The Panamanian Government refused to grant safe-conduct passes to former officers Heraclides Sucre—as he is accused of killing Major Moises Giroldi—Gonzalo Gonzalez, and Asuncion Eliecer Gaitan for their role in the murders of several of their former comrades in arms following the 3 October rebellion. Former PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] legislator Luis Gomez was also denied a safe-conduct pass. The status of Manuel Solis Palma, former minister in charge of the Presidency, who took refuge at the residence of the Venezuelan ambassador, has not yet been defined.

Arias Says Talks With Peru's Garcia 'Positive'

PA0103035190 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Ricardo Arias Calderon, first vice president and government and justice minister, returned this afternoon from Peru. Upon his return, he termed the talks with Peruvian President Alan Garcias positive. Here are his remarks:

[Begin recording] [Arias] We really found, in all of Peru's sectors and news media, a great acceptance for the new democracy of the Panamanian people. It was truly a very successful trip, thanks to the joint initiative of President Guillermo Endara and President Alan Garcia.

[Reporter] Did you discuss the issue of the persons who have sought asylum at the Peruvian Embassy?

[Arias] That was not the chief topic of the visit. The chief topic was full normalization of relations. As for the asylum seekers, we agreed to handle the matter through the normal diplomatic channels, based on existing international treaties.

[Reporter] Is there a fixed date to normalize relations?

[Arias] Any diplomatic appointment in Peru, primarily the appointment of ambassadors, requires senate approval, and the senate is not in session. So, diplomatic matters will first be handled at the ministerial level and, eventually, when the senate is in session, they will be carried out at the highest level. The intention is to quickly normalize relations to the fullest. In fact, my visit and the reception I received as President Endara's envoy is a specific signal that the normalization has basically taken place. I am also bringing a message from Alan Garcia to President Endara. It is message of friendship from one constitutional and democratic president to another constitutional and democratic president. [end recording]

Argentina

Menem, Chile's Aylwin Discuss Bilateral Ties

PY2802152790 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Chilean President-elect Patricio Aylwin has said that Chile and Argentina must overcome their mutual distrust. President Carlos Menem and Aylwin, in a brief conversation with reporters, described the points of agreement they had discussed during a meeting in the presidential office at Government House today.

Menem admitted that Argentina is experiencing a period of serious recession and high inflation. He said optimistically, however, that the situation will be overcome. Menem expressed the Argentine Government's firm determination to promote bilateral integration and cooperation within the framework of Latin American integration, noting that there is total agreement in this regard and that bilateral objectives will be pursued through teams that have already been formed and others which will be created.

A Chilean journalist asked Menem about Argentina's economic situation. This was his reply:

[Begin Menem recording] Remember that in 1985 President Alfonsin spoke about the seriousness of the situation. That year, in the decree through which he implemented the Austral Plan, Alfonsin said that the situation was very serious. That situation has worsened, fueling hyperinflation. When we assumed power, inflation was running over 200 percent a month.

Economic law says recession follows periods of hyperinflation. Inflation is now high, and we are in the middle of a serious recession. We are sure, however, that we will overcome this situation. I am totally optimistic, and I am convinced that we will succeed. We are trying to design policies with all community sectors. Accord is the main instrument we will use in the labor, business, and government sectors to definitively pull the country out of this situation and make Argentina grow, taking advantage of its vast resources which give our country a privileged position in Latin America and the world in general. [end recording]

Aylwin thanked Menem for his hospitality, noting that his visit represents his future government's political will to promote bilateral ties. The Chilean President-elect, who said that this was his first trip abroad, stressed the importance of Argentine-Chilean ties. Regarding the factors that he considers to be important for promoting bilateral cooperation, Aylwin said:

[Begin Aylwin recording] There are several important factors. We should first overcome our mutual distrust and once and for all solve the minor problems that are affecting bilateral contacts. I believe that if the technical committees are put to work, we can overcome this type of problem in a relatively short time. Our two countries complement each other in terms of their vast resources. There are many possibilities in the area of economic cooperation. I know that there are many Chileans living in this country. They practically have two nationalities, especially in the southern region. There are therefore many opportunities to join efforts to improve the living standard of the people and to solve health and education problems.

Both Argentina and Chile are equally interested in their physical integration, which poses some technical problems which should be solved.

As I could see during my presidential campaign, there are Chilean towns and cities in which the people want to open all communication channels with Argentina. It is the same in Argentina. [end recording]

After this short news conference, President Menem hosted a dinner to honor Aylwin at the Foreign Ministry building—the old San Martin Palace. Menem, who was accompanied by the presidential spokesman, arrived at approximately 2120. He was welcomed at the palace by Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo and the two of them then went to the palace's Green Hall, on the first floor of the Foreign Ministry, to wait for Aylwin.

The dinner was attended by ministers and President-elect Patricio Aylwin's accompanying entourage.

Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Arrives

PY2802153490 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1330 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Feb (NA)—Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Ghafar arrived in Buenos Aires today at the head of a delegation that will make contacts with national authorities in an attempt to step up bilateral relations, especially in the aeronautics field.

Ghafar will hold a meeting with President Carlos Menem and Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo to discuss a series of economic projects on the artificial insemination and slaughtering of cattle. One of the delegation's goals is to negotiate the establishment of five meat-packing plants in Malaysia.

Menem Speaks to Labor Leaders on Economic Plan

PY2802200690 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] President Carlos Menem yesterday met with a group of labor union leaders. He said that both the meeting with union leaders and the one he held with Justicialist Party senators on the evening of 26 February were excellent and of a high-level.

Regarding the Justicialist Party's criticism of the economic program, Menem denied the existence of such criticism. He said: There are suggestions and differing

viewpoints, and this is the correct way for the leaders of a country such as ours, which needs cool-headed leadership, to behave.

He admitted that there are many problems, but said that we are on the right path. President Menem then said that this morning he received a phone call from French President Francoise Mitterrand who congratulated him on the Argentine Government's decision to resume relations with Great Britain.

Menem added that Mitterrand also voiced his full support for the plan implemented by the government. [passage omitted]

* Strong Labor Presence at Seineldin Meeting

90ET0105D Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 10 Jan 90 pp 18-19

[Article by Hector Simeoni: "Seineldin's Talks"]

[Text] In the middle of the night on 5 January all of the commands, agencies, and units of the Army began receiving a priority radio message marked "confidential" from the assistant chief of staff. It read: "A meeting was held on this date between the chiefs of staff and the economy minister at which they agreed on an initial wage correction for the Armed Forces, starting with a corporal's salary of 200,000 australes."

At 1300 the following day, Saturday the 6th, a three-car caravan drove through the streets of Cordoba. A few minutes later, Colonel Muhamad Ali Seineldin and a group of his military and civilian colleagues were sitting in a house in the Belgrano district.

It was the first of a series of meetings that eventually brought together some 300 persons in groups of 20 or 30. Political leaders abounded, especially from the second echelon of Justicialism, but there were even more labor leaders, as well as businessmen and members of intermediate organizations.

The visitors were received there and immediately placed in various rooms in the house. Seineldin walked through all of them, made a brief speech, and then fielded questions from his audience.

The schedule (there were more than 25 such small meetings) was interrupted only so that the colonel could attend mass, meet with the Arab community, and attend two meetings with active-duty chiefs, commissioned officers, and noncommissioned officers.

The strictly military meetings, which were held in other private homes, were altogether confidential, the only account of them being that they were attended by representatives "of most of the units that make up the Third Corps."

As far as we know, the recently retired colonel began each of his speeches by outlining a situation in which there was talk of possible violence by the left, which would then be "used to justify a liberal coup," presumably supported by the "understanding between the renewal faction and the coordinating board." He then urged: "Therefore, we must be prepared not only to uphold the institutional order but also to help consolidate a true national project."

Seineldin also reportedly made the following important points:

- He expressed "great concern for the dangeous point of gravity the crisis has reached."
- He voiced skepticism about the recent package of economic measures, because they mean a "lack of growth." They are guided by a "monetarist approach" and are causing a severe recession that is going "to hurt the poorest sectors."
- He underscored the "need for the National Movement to recover the banners and the revolutionary spirit of 1943."
- As for Carlos Menem he said: "The National Army communicated to him the necessary and sufficient guarantees to prevent the substance of the will of the people as expressed on 14 May from changing," but the president "has chosen to rely on jailers." He did note, however, that "in spite of all this, we are going to back the continuance of the president in his office in every possible way."

Witnesses disclosed that Seineldin came out "against any possibility of a coup d'etat." Some of the retired colonel's colleagues explained the Cordoba visit as stemming from the need to "inspect the structure itself and leave behind the corresponding orders."

The caravan started back to Buenos Aires at 0500 on Monday. The tour may reportedly continue elsewhere in the country over the next few days.

Some concern could be noted in the Armed Forces staff over Seineldin's movements. At the same time, however, the recently secured wage hike was described as a positive factor that would help defuse the internal situation.

The meeting between the chiefs of staff and the economy minister, Erman Gonzalez, was supposed to have taken place on Thursday the 4th, but the minister had some business to conduct with foreign representatives, and so it was postponed for a day. The luncheon was attended by the chiefs of the three branches, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Gonzalez with his colleagues, and the interior minister, Julio Mera Figueroa. They talked from 1300 to 1730. Just a few hours before, Defense Minister Italo Luder had left with his family for Punta del Este.

The men in uniform wanted a salary of at least 254,000 australes for a corporal, who was making 80,000 this past December. The stiffest objections came from the secretary of finance, Saul Bouer, who argued that it was more urgent to attend to other areas of the public sector, such as teachers.

When they left, they knew that a corporal was going to earn 200,000 and, on the other end of the scale, a lieutenant general would make 1.2 million (up 100 percent from December).

The promptness with which the radio message conveying the news to subordinates was drafted and sent reflects the restrained euphoria that the salary hike caused in the top echelon of the military.

They got other things too. They came away from the meeting with Erman Gonzalez with the promise of an extra $150 million in the budget for new equipment, to be apportioned equally among the three branches in 1990.

The only sure thing is that the difficult juncture seems to be behind us: the administration has promised to meet again with the chiefs of staff to discuss an automatic salary-adjustment system that will make the enervating "military joint-arbitration board" unnecessary.

Court Paroles Former Admiral Lambruschini

PY2802181790 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] A few minutes ago the Federal Court reported its decision to order the release on parole of former Admiral Armando Lambruschini, as he has completed two-thirds of his eight-year prison sentence on charges of abuse during the antiterrorist struggle.

The court noted that Lambruschini's release will become effective at 0000 on 1 March under the terms established by Article 13 of the Penal Code, which refers to conditions regarding place of residence and the need to remain at the court's disposal, among others. By order of the court Lambruschini was taken from the Naval Hospital to the Federal Court to be notified of the decision.

Brazil

Sarney Leaves for Inauguration in Uruguay

PY0103024490 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2200 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] In Montevideo tomorrow, President Jose Sarney will attend the presidential inauguration of Uruguayan President-elect Luis Alberto Lacalle.

Sarney left at 1400 today for Montevideo. He arrived at 1700 and went to the Brazilian Embassy. Tonight President Sarney will attend a reception given by Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti at the government house.

Tomorrow Sarney will attend the opening of the National Congress in the legislative palace. At 1330 Sarney will return to the government palace to attend the presidential inauguration. After the ceremony Sarney will return to Brasilia; he is expected to arrive at the Brasilia military base at 2200.

For the first time, Senator Nelson Carneiro is the acting president during Sarney's absence.

* Cabral Speaks on Role, Constitutional Changes

90ET0106A Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 24 Jan 90 pp 5, 6, 8

[VEJA interview with Justice Minister-designate Bernardo Cabral by correspondent Expedito Filho, in Brasilia; date not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Bernardo Cabral, the 57-year-old legislator from Amazonas State, finished work early last week to begin settling into life in a new job. Once his appointment as the future justice minister in the Collor de Mello administration was announced, Cabral started working out of a third-floor office in Annex II of the Itamaraty Building. This is where the new administration has set up its general headquarters during the transition. He has an office to himself, a privilege reserved for only two other persons. One is the economist Zelia Cardoso de Mello and the other Collor himself. Cabral is a lawyer who has been active in politics since 1962 when he won a seat in the Amazonas state legislature on the ticket of the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party]. He lost his political rights under Institutional Act 5, but in 1969, he resumed practicing law and went on to become president of the OAB [Organization of Brazilian Lawyers] from 1981 to 1983. Cabral became better known in 1988 when, as secretary of the Constitutional Assembly, he was in charge of drafting the new Constitution. He gained a reputation for moving easily among elements as disparate as the military cabinets, the PT [Workers Party] of Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, and the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] which he left last year to become an independent. In addition to his new portfolio, Cabral will take on another rather unusual task. It will be his job to articulate government policy and negotiate with Congress a package of modifications to the Constitution he himself drafted as recording secretary of the Constituent Assembly. In this fashion Collor hopes to open the way for some of the reforms called for in his plan of government but impeded by the new Constitution as currently drafted. One such sticking point is the power to dismiss public officials who at present are immune from firing after five years' service. Last Tuesday Cabral received VEJA in his office for the following interview:

[VEJA] What is your role in the Collor administration?

[Cabral] By my appointment, the president-elect is attempting to have the Justice Ministry provide his administration with a political voice. Thus, the civil cabinet will lose its ministerial powers and return to its bureaucratic function of advising the president. The future Justice Ministry must also be in the forefront of negotiations to bring about needed constitutional reforms and assure the smooth operation of the new government.

[VEJA] What changes are you going to propose to Congress?

[Cabral] The problem today is that you cannot have a parliamentary constitution in a presidential system. The Constitution must be reformed in order to govern, and this is what I'm working on. It's necessary to change some passages that impede needed reforms in the economic area. In the agrarian reform chapter, for example, the concept of the social function of land must be reevaluated. The issue of job stability also needs revision. Aside from this, there are other proposals that need to be negotiated with Congress. These include pushing for an audit of the foreign debt to determine how it was contracted and what was done wrong.

[VEJA] You were the one who drafted the Constitution in its present form. Why were you chosen for this task?

[Cabral] In the first place, by calling on me, the president-elect was acknowledging the importance of the political class, lawyers, and jurists. I am a lawyer and past president of OAB. Beyond that, I know the text of the Constitution in depth since it was the product of broad negotiations in Congress. I am a negotiator. If the president-elect asked me to be minister of justice without including the role of political spokesman, I would not have accepted the job. In the past 20 years, the only minister who played that role was Petronio Portela. The rest had their hands tied. Paulo Brossard is one of the most cultured men ever to pass through the Justice Ministry, but he lacked that role. The present minister, Saulo Ramos, would be nothing if he were not the friend and confidant of President Sarney. One of his principle activities is planting newspaper stories unfavorable to me. Beyond that, he's a dour person who likes to wax ironic in interviews.

[VEJA] During your work in the Constituent Assembly, you strived to keep the incentives for the Manaus Free Trade Zone in place. Now the economic team proposes an end to subsidies and incentives. Who's side are you on: the Collor administration's economic team; or the one that wants incentives for the Free Trade Zone?

[Cabral] I kept the language about incentives for the Free Trade Zone in the temporary provisions of the Constitution because each and every bureaucrat in Brasilia was changing the way they worked. That's no longer the case. Any change requires a federal law. The Manaus Free Trade Zone is not benefitting from any subsidies. Incentives are something else. Incentives for the Manaus Free Trade Zone produced great benefits for the country.

[VEJA] President Fernando Collor was elected without the support of such civilian entities as the OAB, the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops [CNBB], or the majority of the Congress. How do you now expect to conduct business with these organizations?

[Cabral] These entities may not have been behind Collor as a candidate, but they will make their contribution to Collor as president of the Republic. In the first place, he's sending the nation a message by asking someone like me with close ties to a body like the OAB to join his administration. These groups are going to sit down at the negotiating table to work out a broad national understanding. However, this does not necessarily imply that the job will be done harmoniously. Even the president of the United Federation of Workers [CUT], Jair Meneguelli, has told the press he's willing sit down and discuss the problems of workers. This does not mean CUT will accept my proposals or that I'm going to accept the demands made by CUT. The idea is to discuss proposals and to point out directions and solutions for the country.

[VEJA] President Sarney called on those outside government to form a so-called social contract and failed to get one. Couldn't this chain of events repeat itself now?

[Cabral] President Sarney failed to form a social contract because he did not select the best means to that end. He gave the impression that everyone was in the same boat, that it was catching fire on the high seas, and that only through emergency measures could everyone be saved. In the case of Fernando Collor, the ship is brand new and still in the shipyard. The president is warning that we'll be sailing in rough seas. But if we all make up our minds right now that the crew members will keep talking to each other, we will be able to overcome difficulties by meeting them head on. The president, after all, must divide the onus and the bonus with Congress in order to divide responsibility for command of the ship. At the start of the administration it will be possible to call everyone together to discuss unpopular measures.

[VEJA] How long does the administration have to get public opinion on its side?

[Cabral] From the reopening of Congress in February to the swearing in of the new president on 15 March, I hope to win the backing of our legislative colleagues and of groups outside the government. If the guiding principle of the new administration continues to be trustworthiness and openness, this reserve of confidence will grow. Precisely how long this will take is going to depend on the effectiveness of the new administration's economic measures. If the measures presented to Congress are all geared to the aspirations of the people, I have no doubt that Brazilian society will continue to support the Collor administration.

[VEJA] Aren't you being overly optimistic?

[Cabral] I am an optimistic man who doesn't put his hopes on hold. I fear that everything won't come out right, but I am also convinced that God protects the fearful but not the timid. What we don't want to be is timid. We are not going to be shy about making decisions. When I say the Collor administration is a new ship that's going to be sailing on rough seas, I don't discount the possibility of the crew's staging a mutiny during the voyage. Could there be a ministerial crisis? There could be. After all, efforts are already under way to avoid one with such measures as the new administration's plan to eliminate the Finance and Planning Ministries and create a single Economics Ministry. This means no one wants to put up with frictions between one ministry and

another. Put another way, President Collor de Mello is not going to permit the kind of dissension in his cabinet that would lead to its crumbling.

[VEJA] How would you evaluate the Sarney administration?

[Cabral] The Sarney administration often appeared to neglect problems. Sometimes it seemed apathetic and on occasion timid. When two ministers attack each other in the press—as did Mailson da Nobrega and Oscar Dias Correa, or Antonio Carlos Magalhaes and Prisco Viana—without any of them being fired, the president is showing weakness. His authority is eroded.

[VEJA] This won't happen in the Collor administration?

[Cabral] At least I hope it won't happen. President Sarney took office with a cabinet chosen by Tancredo Neves, so it was flawed from the start. President Collor is putting together his cabinet with absolute personal independence. This will leave him with a heavy burden of responsibility if he makes mistakes. He cannot argue that he's having to get along with ministers chosen by somebody else. The responsibility will be exclusively his.

[VEJA] The administration must send Congress some bitter remedies to cure inflation. Most deputies and senators are not willing to pay the electoral price these measures demand since they're going to be striving for reelection in November. How do you solve that problem?

[Cabral] In the first place, it must be brought out that all the country's problems cannot be solved between the first day of the Collor administration and the election. A period of six months is too short. This does not mean that attempted solutions to many problems will have failed. The problems of foreign debt, of the public deficit will be given the treatment they need, and specific measures to combat inflation will make their appearance. In that period, President Collor will have to convince the nation not that his measures will have an immediate effect but certainly that after the election they will begin to work. The challenge is to overcome the idea that the 1990 election is going to be easier for opposition candidates running against the government's mistakes.

[VEJA] In your opinion, which measures will be the hardest to negotiate?

[Cabral] It is more than evident that unpopular measures, such as government layoffs, must be taken. The Constitution put some limits on measures of this kind. For example, it protects workers with more than five years' seniority in the public sector by assuring them job stability. Without changing the Constitution, the president will have to announce, as was done in France, early retirement for those seeking to leave public service. What cannot be allowed, no matter what, is that the great majority of legislators vote against austerity measures. The last elections signalled that voters want something new. They want politics to be in earnest, and they want an end to old political methods. Either Brazilian politicians will have the fortitude to vote for austerity or they won't be coming back to Congress next year.

[VEJA] And what if the measures take a toll on the private sector or worker salaries?

[Cabral] What we are going to show is that if workers have to lose a little, business profits are shrinking too. It must be proven that sacrifices labor is asked to make are also asked of management. What I cannot be is the bearer of a message that says unpopular measures will be taken at the expense of workers but not of management.

[VEJA] Do you think negotiations with the Collor administration can keep the United Workers Federation, CUT, from fomenting a wave of strikes?

[Cabral] We are proposing a broad national dialogue. I cannot tell them not to strike. I can ask them how we can avoid this. I do not believe, in the final analysis, that labor union leaders will impose demands on the new administration. Workers are going to fight to prevent loss of purchasing power and not for political reasons. Union leaders aren't thinking about striking just for the sake of striking.

[VEJA] Faced with a situation like the one at Volta Redonda [steelworks], what would you do?

[Cabral] Violence gains nothing. There was violence there. Urutu is not the best negotiator there is. The belligerent use of force can never get better results than dialogue. I don't believe that might makes right; I believe that right makes might. If the strike is not political but a bid to regain lost pay, it's the only remedy workers have available to them.

[VEJA] The Collor administration wants to mount a so-called whistle-blowing operation to root out corruption. If President Sarney were incriminated, would you have him arrested?

[Cabral] You would have to spell out the process by which President Sarney was incriminated. You can't incriminate anyone before the fact. If such a case were to end up in my hands, I would allow the president, like any other Brazilian citizen, every opportunity to defend himself. I will not in my capacity as Justice Minister make precipitous decisions. In my area, nevertheless, there will be no cover-ups. Crimes will be cleared up no matter who commits them. This applies to friends and enemies alike.

[VEJA] You left the PMDB but didn't join the PRN [National Reconstruction Party]. Why not?

[Cabral] I hope that after the elections a new party can be formed in Brazil that will have a place for social democrats who have faced reality in this country. It won't be a party of has-beens. This party is not going to absorb the PRN or any other partisan grouping. In Congress we're going to develop a block in support of the Collor de Mello administration. It will include legislators from

other parties without forcing them to surrender their own opinions. These parties could give their support without joining the administration. There are no designs on forming a government bench.

[VEJA] How are you going to solve the problem of irregular gold mining in Brazil?

[Cabral] It is a problem for the Federal Police. It exists on Indian lands, and that's the province of other ministries. In order to solve this problem in the Collor administration, Funai [National Indian Foundation] will be transferred to the Justice Ministry. This will make the problem easier to solve both as it relates to Indians and as it relates to miners.

[VEJA] What are you going to do about intrusions of the drug cartels into Brazil?

[Cabral] There now exist international bodies that can help us combat drugs. Their help will be well received so long as it doesn't infringe on our sovereignty. The Collor administration will be implacable in the war against narcotics trafficking. We are going to keep the Federal Police well supplied and primarily keep closer watch on the country's borders. We are also going to emphasize education. This is as important or more important than repressing trafficking.

[VEJA] Do you favor the return of some type of censorship?

[Cabral] I am against censorship of any and every kind. I want to have the right to watch a pornographic film. What cannot be permitted is bringing into homes, via television, films that are inappropriate for kids. Television stations must exercise internal self-censorship to prevent this from happening. I also want the most absolute freedom of the press even to the point of letting it go astray. That's better than having a muzzled press.

[VEJA] You decided against running for reelection to the legislature or even running for governor of your state in return for a ministerial post. Are you ambitious?

[Cabral] My decision was an act of daring. As governor of Amazonas, I'd only be working on behalf of my state. In the Justice Ministry I can work for my state and the others too. Wherever I've gone to school in my life, I've been the best student. The philosopher Jean Paul Sartre used to say settling for first place was extremely vain, but he'd never settle for second. In this sense, I am a follower of Sartre.

Chile

Aylwin Off to Montevideo, Cites Future Goals

PY0103012290 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] President-elect Patricio Aylwin has gone to Montevideo after a two-day stopover in Argentina. He bade farewell with a news conference. Aylwin told Argentine, Chilean, and international news agency journalists that his administration, which will begin next 11 March, will maintain the current economic model.

Aylwin also said that Chile has inspired greater confidence in foreign investors and the level of foreign capital being invested in Chile has increased lately.

Aylwin today left for Montevideo where he will attend the presidential inauguration of Luis Alberto Lacalle. Asked if he planned to join the Group of Eight, Aylwin answered that his administration does not want to restrict itself to specific guidelines but that it intends to seek pragmatic formulas for greater integration with the rest of the continent. Aylwin stressed that although his administration will not pressure anybody in particular, it will facilitate procedures through the appropriate legal reforms to allow the courts to carry out their work.

Chilean Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz also traveled to Montevideo, heading an official Chilean delegation to Lacalle's presidential inauguration.

[Begin Errazuriz recording] Yes, I will attend the Uruguayan presidential inauguration heading an official delegation. I think it is a good opportunity to observe the preparations for the transfer of power. [end recording]

The foreign minister will return to Santiago on 2 March.

Future Interior Minister Hails Chamorro Victory

PY2802132290 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Future Interior Minister Enrique Krauss has stated that the victory of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro in Nicaragua represents the victory of democracy over force. He added that Mrs. Chamorro is a symbol of the struggle for democracy and freedom in Latin America and that Chamorro's victory will have a political impact on the entire Central American region. Fidel Castro's Marxist regime, he said, will have to admit this fact.

Krauss said that the government headed by Patricio Aylwin will extend to Chamorro an official invitation to the presidential inauguration ceremony in the next few hours. He pointed out, however, that the Foreign Ministry had already sent her an invitation to the event.

Krauss made these statements after meeting with the leadership of the Confederation of Truck Owners, headed by Valericio Maturana. [passage omitted]

Carabineros Chief Reports on Security Measures

PY0103013490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Some 9,000 Carabineros members will participate in a special police plan before, during, and after the official transfer of power ceremonies in our country. This was reported by General Alfredo Nunez Allende,

the Carabineros order and security director, who also described the latest terrorist attacks as isolated events which are under control.

[Begin recording] [Nunez Allende] We will be responsible for the security of the population and of the foreign guests in keeping with our duty requirements. As for the recent attacks, I must say they are regrettable and I wish they had not taken place; however, this kind of action has been taken into consideration in all our plans. We have adopted all the measures we think are appropriate in case this kind of activity takes place. We will also try to prevent this kind of action during the presidential inauguration so that people under our protection will not be affected.

[Unidentified reporter] Why has terrorist activity increased in the past few days?

[Nunez Allende] I think that this is normal within the current process. It is not a specific factor or objective. The attacks are in keeping with what we have been observing in the past few months. [end recording]

The Carabineros order and security chief also reported that reinforcements will be brought in to Santiago from other parts of the country, and he added that the dissolution of the National Intelligence Center will not affect the normal work of the Carabineros. He also said that in face of the recent terrorist attacks, the appropriate measures have been adopted. As far as he knows, he said, the Army will not participate in establishing order and security during the transfer of power ceremony; this will be the exclusive responsibility of Chilean Carabineros.

As for the recent terrorist attacks, he said there is no evidence that they are part of a plan, although he admitted that extremist activity has increased lately. However, such actions are within thr bounds of what was expected. He said that the security personnel that will be brought in by the foreign guests have already coordinated their actions with those of Carabineros.

On 5 March, the Carabineros will announce a detailed report on the transfer of power ceremony and on the measures that will be adopted, especially regarding the vehicular traffic patterns. The security plan will be similar to the one used during Pope John Paul II's visit to Chile

Attacks Aimed at Military Office, Supreme Court

PY2802143090 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The police are currently carrying out an intense search for three individuals who fired a machinegun at the office of the military prosecutor at 1672 Antonio Varas Street. The individuals left behind pamphlets signed by the self-styled Lautaro Rebel Forces.

According to Carabineros personnel from the 19th Carabineros Station in Providencia District, the terrorist attack, in which LAW rocket launchers were also used, did not cause any casualties or material damage.

The three individuals stood at the intersection of Arturo Blanco and Manuel Montt Streets and fired a LAW rocket that went off inside the military compound. Another attack, this one with noise bombs, was later carried out against the Supreme Court building. One of the bombs went off outside the building on Compania Street between Moneda and Bandera Streets. An official communique on the attack against the military premises will be released in the next few hours.

MAPU Faction Claims Attack on Carabineros

PY2802125190 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The Lautaro faction of the MAPU [United Popular Action Movement] terrorist group has claimed responsibility for the attack on a Carabineros station in the eighth region. Pamphlets found in different parts of the city of Concepcion claim that this leftist organization is responsible for the shooting of members of the Carabineros OS7 Brigade on the corner of Anibal Pinto and Manuel Rodriguez Streets.

As reported earlier, Carabineros Corporal Manuel Bascur Osses was seriously wounded in the attack; he remains hospitalized in the Talcahuano Navy Hospital. Most of the recent attacks against Carabineros stations have been carried out by MAPU's Lautaro faction.

Laws Defining Armed Forces Charter Published

PY2802133690 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Today's edition of the OFFICIAL GAZETTE carries the texts of the laws referring to the Charter of the Armed Forces and the National Defense Ministry administration. Law 18948, which refers to the Charter of the Armed Forces, was implemented on 30 December 1989, as established in its Article 4.

Article 1 of the law states that the Armed Forces, under the jurisdiction of the ministry in charge of national defense, are formed by the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. It also states that these Armed Forces are basically obedient, nondeliberative, professional, hierarchic, and disciplined.

Its transitory Article 1 states that within a 30-day term, beginning the day on which the law is published—that is, until 27 March—the president of the Republic is authorized to amend the statutes regarding Armed Forces personnel.

Regarding Law 18952, which establishes the administrative directorate of the National Defense Ministry as of 11 March, it is stated that this directorate will be in charge of administration, maintenance, furnishing, and repair of the Diego Portales Building, the urban complex [words indistinct], and the equipment and building of San Borja Tower No. 22. This secretariat will also give the necessary logistic support to enable it and its related organizations to carry out their functions.

The directorate of this new body will be appointed by the defense minister. According to the new law, he will be a high-ranking active or retired officer of the Armed Forces or Carabineros.

Colombia

Six UP Members Killed Near Panamanian Border

PA2802174790 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1640 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Bogota, 28 Feb (DPA)—The political violence racking Colombia two weeks before the legislative and municipal elections increased today when it was officially reported that six leaders of the leftist Patriotic Union (UP) were murdered in Mungia.

According to initial reports, the newest massacre was committed by several unidentified persons, believed to be members of an ultrarightist paramilitary group, who fired at the leaders in the central park in Mungia, 480 km northwest of Bogota, close to the Panamanian border.

The paramilitary raid took place one day after the UP leadership accused President Virgilio Barco's administration of being an "accomplice" in the wave of crimes against that leftwing party. [passage omitted]

UP leader Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa, who is one of the most protected politicians in this country in view of continued death threats, will meet soon with Brigadier General Miguel Maza Marquez, chief of the secret police, to discuss the guarantees that must be given to UP members.

The climate preceding the legislative and municipal elections of 11 March is characterized by the violence promoted by paramilitary groups and leftist guerrilla movements.

UP Chief: Only DAS Can Protect Members

PA0103041890 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] The Patriotic Union [UP] reiterated its charges today against Colombian Army generals whom it blames for the death of 300 UP militants in the country. UP presidential candidate Bernardo Jaramillo today presented to General Miguel Maza Marquez, director of the DAS [Administrative Department of Security], a list of UP leaders who have received threats. Jaramillo said he only has confidence in the protection which Gen. Maza Marquez can provide to UP militants.

Six UP activists were assassinated today at daybreak in Munguia, Choco Department. In the past 58 days, 72 members of this political party have been killed. Bernard Jaramillo said today that Gen. Miguel Maza Marquez is the last resort for UP in its attempt to save the lives of its militants. Jaramillo said he presented to the Attorney General's Office charges involving Generals Harold Bedoya and Carlos Julio Gil Colorado from the Medellin and Bucaramanga Brigades, respectively.

Using unusually violent language, Bernardo Jaramillo referred to President Barco, his defense and government ministers, the attorney general, and the high-ranking military leadership, and emphatically said he will hold no more dialogues with the government.

[Begin recording] [Jaramillo] Why are we going to hold a dialogue? I was just telling Gen. Maza that I have asked [UP President] Dr. Diego Montoya to please suspend all dialogues, because he went to Meta Department to hold a dialogue and two days later our candidates in Meta and El Castillo were killed. He went to Santander to hold a dialogue and a group of UP leaders were killed in San Vicente de Chucuri. Recently he was in Antioquia holding a dialogue, and the UP mayor in Apartado Municipality was killed, as well as two councilmen candidates to the Mutata Municipality and a councilman in Turbo. Therefore, we have asked him to please stop conducting dialogues because they cost a lot: the lives of our people.

[Reporter] Will [words indistinct] using such violent language help the UP?

[Jaramillo] No, I do not think so. When we are [words indistinct] it cannot harm us any further. [end recording]

Meanwhile, Government Minister Carlos Lemos Simmonds today blamed the so-called Army of National Liberation [ELN] for the various assassinations of UP members and members of other political organizations, saying they are part of its strategy to hinder the electoral process.

Interviewed after he attended the Security Council meeting and the [words indistinct], Lemos said the most recent actions seem to have a very direct link to the ELN's plans to hinder the elections. However, he clarified, the figures given by the UP on the number of its militants killed are excessive. According to a DAS report, the members of all political parties killed in the past few years are as follows: 11 UP members killed, seven from the Liberal Party, and six from the Conservative Party.

[Begin recording] [Lemos] The ELN said it does not want elections to be held, and you are aware of that. Therefore, [words indistinct] attack the UP. I expect anything from the ELN. Moreover, there is a specific threat against the M-19 [19 April Movement]. I do not believe anyone would say the ELN is a group which would not object to killing anyone. [end recording]

Lemos said the UP enemies are also enemies of the state, and although the UP charges against Armed Forces members will be investigated, the government does not believe that such kinds of links exist.

[Lemos] We are trying to eliminate the paramilitary forces and hired assassins who are killing UP members. This has been our struggle. Moreover, the lives of some

of us who are members of the government have been threatened because we are [words indistinct]. [end recording]

5 Bombs Explode 'Simultaneously' in Medellin

PA0103025590 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0210 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Medellin, 28 Feb (DPA)—The series of bomb explosions that shook Colombia a few months ago resumed tonight when five bombs went off simultaneously in Medellin.

According to the first few fragmentary reports, the bombs exploded in front of state-owned enterprise buildings, damaging a telephone switching center and one electrical tower. There have been no reports yet on casualties.

This terrorist escalation comes amidst a climate of political violence in the country prior to municipal and legislative elections, which will be held on 11 March.

A guerrilla group, the Army of National Liberation (ELN), recently threatened to increase its attacks in order to sabotage the elections.

* Candidates Discuss Views on Extradition

90ET0110B Bogota SEMANA in Spanish 30 Jan 90 pp 33-34

[Text] **Jaime Castro**

As for drug trafficking, we lack a policy, a strategy, a definite course of action for dealing with and controlling it. Perhaps this is why it has become the heaviest burden that the country is enduring today. In other times we thought that extradition was enough of a tool to eradicate the growing and processing of coca leaves and the trafficking of its derivatives. The judicial weakness of the so-called solution soon became apparent, however (the Supreme Court declared the law approving the corresponding treaty unconstitutional), as did its ineffectiveness in practice, because it radicalized the conflict and turned it even bloodier and was not even able to reduce the illegal drug trade, which is expanding day after day. Perhaps for this reason vast segments of public opinion began having serious reservations about extradition.

The lack of a policy also made the drug traffickers high and mighty, as they unilaterally declared war on the State and on society, sought to impose their will, and managed to "contaminate" to who knows what extent the public and private institutions called on to combat them.

The presence of drug trafficking in our midst has thus carried a very high price for the country: It has brought crime, violence, and insecurity, caused serious economic disruptions, jeopardized the authority of the State, and compromised the nation's dignity and security.

In the face of this tragic situation we need to adopt a policy that is the fruit of a calm and serious public debate in which all segments of society are involved, a policy that defines what role Colombia is to play in the international context of the problem and that eliminates taboos and false moralism.

Such a policy must reflect the views and the commitment of all of the country's political forces. Taking a realistic approach, it must objectively analyze possible solutions that some find unthinkable and rule out for reasons of principle. I am talking about the so-called decriminalization, legalization, or regulation of drugs, which will enable us to control, tax, and oversee the entire process, from the growing of the leaves to the sale of the end product.

Such a policy is urgent because, lacking it, we are in a dead-end street, having created a vacuum that the mayor of Medellin, the M-19, the speaker of the House of Representatives, the UP [Patriotic Union], the secretary general of the presidency, our ambassador to the United Nations, and lately The Notables have tried to fill, each in their own way. The Extraditables are also trying to do so, by presenting their views in political terms, taking nationalistic stands, declaring themselves strong advocates of dialogue, and even resorting to terrorism to "convince" and "persuade" the country that they ought to be listened to.

We now have a surprising and unexpected (miraculous?) opportunity to end the war with a powerful group of drug traffickers and, in so doing, to begin meeting the challenges that drug trafficking poses to us.

Hernando Duran Dussan

I do not think that the drug traffickers can be regarded as political criminals. A political crime involves a philosophy of government other than the one that underlies existing institutions. The drug traffickers have been interested in money, not a different sort of politics, be it left-wing, right-wing, or centrist. So much so that if the government had not cracked down on the drug traffickers' activities, they would have continued them without attacking the government. The fact that they are battling the government in order to continue their commercial activities does not make them political criminals. I think that they are common criminals.

As for treating them less harshly if they keep their word, release all hostages, and suspend overseas shipments of cocaine, this would be a very effective step in the battle against drug trafficking. I think that the first part has been achieved, which is something positive that has come out of the initial document. As for suspending cocaine shipments, the public does not know whether this has been done. If it were to be, the cocaine export business would unquestionably be at an end, which would mark a definite beginning to the solution of the problem. I would like to emphasize their willingness to abide by the constitution and the law. I do not think that Colombia can ask more of anyone. This is the goal of the

rule of law: that everyone abide by the constitution and the law, criminals all the more so.

Extradition will provided for in a decree of 121. The laws that approved the decree by virtue of controversial sentences were declared unconstitutional. In this regard, one may or may not share the motivation behind and the language of a sentence (I myself have serious juridical reservations about the rulings), but the fact is that once they were issued, the treaty was not approved in the manner required by existing law. Extradition is now being handled through a legal procedure arising from a governmental decision, a procedure that could be suspended (if this is what the proposal for less harsh treatment means) in two ways: by lifting the State of Siege, which immediately suspends all of the decrees of 121 that have been issued, or by repealing or replacing the decree itself. I do not consider lifting the state of siege advisable. We have serious problems involving law and order, violence, bombings, kidnapings, ambushes, and various other crimes being committed by lawbreakers, and in my opinion they require a continuation of the state of siege and the sort of martial law that is in effect.

As for appropriate ways of prosecuting them, I do not think that new penalties or ad hoc courts can be created to try prior crimes. This is not the underlying problem; extradition is.

It is worth our while, however, to take into account the effectiveness of the policy that we adopt. If suspending extradition would help end drug trafficking, it would be advisable.

Cesar Gaviria

At no time have I interpreted recent national events as leading towards negotiations with the drug traffickers. Neither the fact that they have harassed our institutions, offered to surrender, or acknowledged the State's victory makes them political criminals. Under our laws, drug trafficking is a common crime, and conduct associated with drug trafficking, such as terrorism, is a common crime that is dealt with harshly.

As for amnesty, this is a judicial pardon that is applied to political crimes, and as I have said, drug trafficking is not such a crime. Ever since the former presidents, the cardinal, and the leader of the left signed the document on The Extraditables, I have stated clearly that the approach that the criminal drug-trafficking organizations take must under no circumstances lead to a dialogue with them. It is obvious that the law offers alternatives for those who alter their conduct and stop committing crimes. Accordingly, the government could unilaterally suspend some of the harsher measures that it has enacted under its emergency powers.

On several occasions I have said that, to us Colombians, extradition is a recognition that government and society are powerless to try the crime of drug trafficking.

Thus, under these circumstances I am not in favor of suspending the emergency decrees unless two things happen. One is if Colombian society, by providing for special procedures, a system of protection for judges, a system of collective rulings, and high-security prisons, makes sure that the justice system really works and that the penalties which the laws call for are applied.

The second is if suspending all acts of terrorism or intimidation enables the courts, Congress, and the Executive Branch alike to express opinions free of any intimidation and to make decisions unaffected by the climate of threats and violence that has surrounded discussions of these matters in recent years.

I personally have no objection to extraditing nationals so that they can answer to the authorities in other countries for crimes they may have committed. I feel that at this time extradition is the only mechanism that our society has to cope with drug trafficking.

I have interpreted the phrase "less harsh treatment" that appears in the document from The Notables not in the sense of undertaking negotiations but rather in the sense that trying a fugitive from justice who at the time of his arrest was still committing crimes is not the same as trying someone who on his own stopped committing such crimes. In that case, there are options for enforcing the law so that those who cease committing crimes can be treated less harshly.

Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa

The first thing that must be said is that the solution to the drug-trafficking problem is international, not national, and to this end we must break free of the guardianship of the United States.

I think that the solution consists of three parts: a) Stop the extraditions; b) Try the drug traffickers in Colombia; c) Seek an international forum for a major multilateral conference that will discuss the possibility of legalization.

If our premise is that these are common, not political crimes, an amnesty is of course, not applicable in this instance. As for an end to extraditions, I think that the solution is for another administration to take that step.

Drug traffickers would clearly prefer to be tried here and serve time under Colombian law in luxury cells, as Felix Correa and Jaime Michelsen have, rather than run the constant risk of being shot in the head or serve a life term in the United States.

I think that if they keep all of the promises that they have made, the country can abolish extradition by lifting the state of siege.

I am not in favor of establishing special arrangements or courts to try them. Why create something that they themselves are not calling for. Moreover, the problem has not been the justice system but rather those whose job it is to apprehend them.

For example, there is discussion now as to whether the Armed Forces ought to keep on chasing them, after the promises that they have made. In my judgment, the authorities clearly have an obligation to execute the constitution and the laws.

Now then, I do not regard the position of the drug traffickers as a surrender (a word that I do not like) but rather as a submission to the law. And I understand their proposal, that in exchange they be treated less harshly, as being an end to extradition and respect for their lives.

William Jaramillo

I do not know whether the government has made an offer for dialogue in the wake of the proposals from the narcoterrorist groups. A great many letters have been written, but there are not many specifics. We have not seen the forest for the trees. In order for a dialogue to be beneficial, it must be viable from a judicial standpoint. In the case of the guerrillas, in spite of the poor results, the dialogue is and will remain viable because Paragraph 19 of Article 76 of the National Constitution states that "for serious reasons of the public interest, general amnesties or pardons for political crimes" can be granted. At the same time, however, we must remember that whereas those amnestied are exempted from civil liabilities vis-a-vis private individuals, the State is still responsible for whatever compensation is deemed proper.

Although I am not a jurist, I am troubled by two doubts. The first is whether, ethical criteria aside, certain common criminals can be pardoned without extending this benefit to all who may have committed nonpolitical crimes. This would mean the possibility of releasing all inmates from the country's jails. Second, would the State pay all compensation to the innocent victims of this war?

As for extradition, this is a controversial issue that depends on a great many circumstances. I belong to the democratic school of thought that feels that any issue can be put to a referendum of the people. The administration has stated, however, through its spokesmen, that such a decision would be subject to pressure from The Extraditables, which would prevent the unfettered expression of the will of the people. Under Article 120 of the constitution, the president alone is responsible for preserving and restoring peace throughout the country whenever it is breached.

On the other hand, it is not worthwhile to take ultranationalistic stands on certain crimes. We are faced with special circumstances that have enabled criminals to act quickly and to escape the penalties of the law in the country in which they have committed crimes.

It is not easy to design a unilateral strategy against drug trafficking.

This means that in this case the action of a single government, such as Colombia's, will be futile unless a concerted strategy is developed among the countries that grow the coca leaves (Bolivia and Peru), those that process and market them (Colombia), those that consume them and supply the processing materials (the United States and the EEC), and the financial beneficiaries of the business (private international banks). A different kind of action must be undertaken and a different solution is called for in each instance.

M-19 Commander Pabon Runs for Mayor in Yumbo

PA2802160490 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Cali—M-19 [19 April Movement] leader Rosemberg Pabon Pabon, the famous Commander Uno, reappeared in public on 23 February after six years in hiding to launch his candidacy as mayor of Yumbo where he has registered. The M-19 leader appeared last night in a public demonstration held in the main plaza of this town amid special security measures.

During his address to the enthusiastic and crowded gathering, Rosemberg Pabon said he wants to become Yumbo's mayor to end administrative corruption. He strongly criticized current Mayor Hector Anibal Lopez and said: "It is sad that some people, although mediocre, are elected mayors. He is a mediocre mayor and he must answer for not carrying out a program to improve the Yumbo people's living conditions."

Pabon Pabon was a professor in Yumbo High School and several years later he returned leading a bloody M-19 takeover.

* Origins of Medellin, Cali Cartel Feud Examined

90ET0110A Bogota SEMANA in Spanish 30 Jan 90 pp 28-31

[Text] There is so much talk of Pablo Escobar and Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha that the Colombian people are forgetting about the Cali Cartel. It was thus noteworthy last week that on their front pages newspapers began reporting a sudden government offensive against this drug-trafficking group. From Rodriguez Gacha's and Escobar's bathtubs with gold faucets and multiple caches, they shifted to Gilberto Rodriguez Orejuela's go-cart tracks and swimming pools. And as if this were not enough, the chiefs of the two cartels sent the editor of EL TIEMPO, Hernando Santos, separate letters.

Sounding like Bolivar, Escobar said that if the government decides "to fight for peace among our people," it will find a long list of drug traffickers, hired thugs, and paramilitary personnel who want to accompany it in the peace process. And in a response worthy of Santander, Rodriguez asserted that he would undergo extradition proceedings and use "the legal means at my disposal to prevent the consummation of an act that whether it is more an example of injustice or revenge we do not know." Above and beyond the pomposity, however, what were noteworthy were Escobar's revelations, as he accused the Cali Cartel of having informed on Jorge Luis

Ochoa when he was arrested in Palmira and on "El Mexicano" when he was killed. The latter's whereabouts were allegedly not revealed by just any citizen, as was claimed, but rather by Jorge Velasquez, alias "El Navegante" [the navigator], a member of the Cali Cartel. According to well-informed sources consulted by SEMANA, El Mexicano was in fact betrayed. It is taken for granted in both Cali and Medellin that it was a man working for the Cali Cartel who supplied the DAS [Administrative Department of Security] with information on the whereabouts of Rodriguez Gacha and his son Freddy.

Oddly enough, the two cartels began to drift apart when Rodriguez Orejuela allegedly informed on Ochoa. This is not that certain, however. Ochoa and Rodriguez Orejuela had been arrested in Spain and, through some fancy judicial footwork, managed to have themselves extradited to Colombia instead of to the United States, where they had been indicted for drug trafficking. Perhaps showing greater vision, Rodriguez Orejuela chose to submit to Colombian justice, serve 2 years in jail, and clear his debts with the law. The more impatient Ochoa managed to get a Cartagena judge to release him, causing outrage throughout the country. In spite of these differences in strategy, however, they maintained cordial relations. When Ochoa traveled to Buga to keep his promise to the Lord of Miracles, he wound up staying in the Intercontinental Hotel in Cali. Rodriguez Orejuela went to visit him, and they chatted until midnight in his room. The next day Ochoa was arrested at a police checkpoint between Palmira and Cali, and ever since then the Medellin Cartel has suspected that it was too much of a coincidence that the chief of the Cali Cartel, who knew where he was headed, was the last to see him. Nevertheless, the manner in which he was arrested (two policemen at a mobile checkpoint) does not seem consistent with the betrayal of one of Colombia's most wanted criminals. Moreover, the attorneys who had defended Rodriguez at his trial were said to have interceded on Ochoa's behalf with the police. Ochoa's wife was assisted at all times by Rodriguez Orejuela, and two officials of the Prosecutor's Office in Valle interceded, at Ochoa's urging, on behalf of Ochoa and were later dismissed.

Relations between Pablo Escobar and Gilberto Rodriguez really did turn sour in late 1987, though. Escobar called Rodriguez and told him that the way to do away with extradition was to kidnap key members of the middle-class. He specifically mentioned Mauricio Gomez, the son of Conservative leader Alvaro Gomez Hurtado. Rodriguez Orejuela was opposed, telling him that it would boomerang on "the cause." This lack of solidarity made the split official. An unsuccessful attempt was made to kidnap Mauricio Gomez, who escaped by seconds; after that "The Extraditables" changed targets. It was then that Andres Pastrana was kidnaped in January 1988. He and Carlos Mauro Hoyos, the nation's attorney general, were going to be used to pressure the government into reassessing its policy. In the struggle with the then attorney general, however, he was accidentally wounded, and the decision was later made to finish him off.

Five days before Andres Pastrana was kidnaped, someone had placed 700 kg of dynamite outside the Monaco Building, which is owned by Pablo Escobar and where his family was living. Miraculously, no one was killed, but the building was semi-destroyed, and few understood why someone had dared to challenge Escobar this way. Escobar initially thought that it was the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and later the DEA. He ultimately came to the conclusion that it was the Cali Cartel, and since then no one has been able to get the idea out of his head.

As a reprisal Escobar undertook an intelligence operation against the chiefs of the Cali Cartel. When the "El Bizcocho" estate near Medellin was raided on 15 March 1988, the authorities found betamax cassettes and personal notes that gave the impression that a kidnaping was being planned. Rodriguez Orejuela, for his part, decided to counterattack and hired five former soldiers to go to Medellin and set up an intelligence service against Escobar. Escobar found out and kidnaped them. When his spies disappeared, Rodriguez Orejuela flew the white flag of reconciliation and made a peace proposal. Escobar said that he would accept, if he were paid $5 million in compensation for the bombing of the Monaco Building and if three deserters from the Medellin Cartel who had gone over to work for the Cali Cartel were handed over to him. They were unable to reach an agreement, and shortly thereafter the five ex-soldiers turned up dead in a ditch on the outskirts of Medellin. Their bullet-ridden bodies, bound and handcuffed, were found with a cardboard sign that read: "Members of the Cali Cartel, executed for attacking Medellin people." From that point on there were constant bombings of Drogas La Rebaja, which Rodriguez Orejuela owned, and killings by both sides.

The most spectacular episode in this war took place in June 1989. After the remains of a helicopter that had crashed in southeast Antioquia were found, along with the body of the pilot, Lieutenant Gustavo Gonzalez Sandoval, the son of General Gustavo Gonzalez Puerto (retired), the country and the world learned of an intrigue and espionage operation worthy of a James Bond film. Two British mercenaries, David Tompkins and Peter McAleese, had been hired by Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha to come to Colombia and train paramilitary personnel to fight the guerrillas. The training took place in the Magdalena Medio, on so-called Fantasy Island, which was the property of El Mexicano. After many complications and disruptions the mercenaries completed their mission and returned to London. They were contacted there again shortly thereafter by the same colonel who had hired them in the first place. This time, however, their mission was different. It was to murder their former employer, Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, and Pablo Escobar. Since money is the sole criterion in the

world of mercenaries, neither had many ethical misgivings, and the operation was undertaken. On 22 June of last year two gunships loaded with mercenaries took off from a spot in Antioquia for "Napoles," Escobar's legendary estate. The objective was to kill him, his bodyguards, and his lieutenants. Owing to weight problems one of the helicopters crashed, and the mission failed. All indications are that the Cali Cartel had hired them.

Since the dead pilot was a police lieutenant, rumors have circulated that the authorities have been involved in Cali Cartel activities. This could be an exaggeration, but the indisputable fact is that whereas the government is mercilessly pursuing anything that smacks of the Medellin Cartel, it is less obsessed with the Cali group. As far as Escobar is concerned, this is more than indifference; it is complicity against him, and in it he sees the hand of the Rodriguez Orejuelas and everyone else who has persecuted him, including Generals Maza and Ruiz Barrera and Colonel Pelaez of the F-2. The new twist now is that the government is stepping up its actions against the Cali Cartel, which could mean either that the rumors were false or that the government, in light of Escobar's "surrender," has decided to take on the other front as well.

The fact is that the government has always felt, as Escobar himself says, that the Cali people have "a different way of running things." This means that they may be cocaine traffickers but have not declared war on the State. Since the government has said that its priority is the battle against narcoterrorism, here lies the explanation of its relative past indifference towards Rodriguez Orejuela. In other words, it is one thing to be a drug trafficker or money launderer, and another to plant bombs.

Last week an odd announcement, signed by Gustavo H. Gil Hinestroza, appeared in the press; in it he declared that none other than Pablo Escobar was behind The Extraditables, who had perpetrated five bombings. The signature turned out to be false, because the ID card belonged to a person who had been declared incompetent. The interpretation of the incident was that the Cali Cartel wanted to wash its hands of all the blood that the group calling itself The Extraditables had shed in a bid to end extradition.

In spite of these differences, however, the two cartels are in a truce. While Escobar has silenced his guns and is looking for a way to be tried in Colombia in exchange for surrendering his business and his weapons, he also seems to have declared a truce with his fiercest enemy: the Cali Cartel. The latter, for its part, seems to be responding in kind, and the swords have been sheathed, at least for the time being. Such is the degree of violence that Colombia has reached that even the drug traffickers seem to be tired of the war.

* Events Prior to Traffickers' Surrender Viewed

90ET0101A Bogota SEMANA in Spanish
23 Jan 90 pp 22-27

[Text] There was a double motivation behind the process which led to the so-called surrender of "the Extraditables." The first, humanitarian in nature, had to do with the release of about 20 individuals Pablo Escobar had kidnapped. The second, which was political, involved an effort to achieve through peace the same results as are being sought through war, without making any concession or surrendering any principle. This would seem almost impossible, in view of the fact that Pablo Escobar was in control of the situation, because he not only had under his control the more than 15 persons who had been kidnapped, but also, they included the son of the secretary general of the Presidency and two women of the Echavarria family, Barco's political relatives. With aces like these up Escobar's sleeve, it was not reasonable to think that he would give them up in exchange for nothing. At the same time, it was absolutely impossible for the government to make concessions on the basis of personal considerations, when it had not done so in response to the many earlier blackmail attempts. So many individuals have died in Colombia as a result of the policy of rejecting dialogue with the drug traffickers that the collective kidnapping could not produce a change in the war strategy now.

Pablo Escobar entered into the kidnapping game in order to use it as a kind of life insurance after the fall of Rodriguez Gacha, as well as to resolve liquidity problems and to force the government to the wall whenever the whim strikes him. In addition to making economic demands in exchange for a number of the individuals kidnapped, the head of the cartel in Medellin had made some demands of the government through representatives of the families of the kidnapped persons. These demands included the release of three men allegedly in the hands of the authorities as a result of some searches in Medellin. This was accompanied by an ultimatum to the effect that if they had not been released by the end of 7 days, Alvaro Diego Montoya, the son of the secretary general of the Presidency, would be executed. The demands were rejected, and where the issue of releasing those allegedly in custody was concerned, the Office of the Attorney General made a statement saying that after various investigations, no evidence had been found that these individuals were in the hands of the authorities.

The representatives of the families of the kidnapped individuals then decided, as a strategy, to make a counterproposal. Why not use the situation for something more basic, instead of trying to obtain money and pushing the government to the wall on minor issues? This man, who had always said that his greatest concern was peace in Colombia, now had an opportunity to provide effective and overwhelming evidence of this intention, since it was obvious that he could not win the war.

Escobar responded that in order to achieve peace, he had spent 5 years proposing dialogue, while no one had responded in any way. And in addition, his family and those of the other "Extraditables" enjoy no guarantees in Colombia at present. He said that if the government wanted peace, it would at the very least have to listen to the peace proposals and to respect the lives of the wives and the children who had nothing to do with the war.

The talks led to two conclusions. One, that it was impossible to have any kind of dialogue if promises were demanded in advance—it was for this reason that all of the earlier efforts had failed. But what could indeed be passed on was the request that the families be respected, since this was a right guaranteed by law. Then it was put to Escobar directly that surrender would perhaps be the only way to get someone to sit down and listen to his peace proposals. He then presented a counterplan: total and immediate surrender, including the business and the weapons, in exchange for the promise that he would be tried in the Colombian courts.

With the belief that this plan might be viable came the need to draft a strategy for making it known. It was then that the decision was made to present it to former president Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, in view of the fact that a year ago, the former president had made some statements about the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia], including the assertion that there could be no negotiations with the guerrilla forces until they had been beaten.

With this argument, the proposal was submitted to Lopez, and he was asked to communicate it to the government and the public. Lopez refused, arguing that total surrender in exchange for trial in Colombia meant nothing other than nonextradition, and that, far from meaning surrender, this was a negotiation package.

The former president said that this was not only unacceptable to the public, but even more so to the government, which could not under any circumstances abandon extradition in what might be interpreted as a compromise motivated by family interests. The mediators insisted to him that it would be well not to dismiss the initiative entirely, since what had begun as negotiations to obtain the release of some hostages was becoming an opportunity for achieving real peace. Even while believing that surrender could not be made conditional on nonextradition, it would be absurd to close the door on one of the parties to the conflict while it was prepared to admit its defeat publicly. They insisted that Escobar was ready to agree to anything, except to surrender himself voluntarily to the authorities if they were going to put him on a Hercules bound for the United States. They added that ending the war, and narcoterrorism, specifically, was even more important than extraditing Escobar. But he insisted that he had to be offered a counterproposal.

Lopez said that the nonextradition issue could not be considered under the present circumstances, particularly in view of the hostages involved, and that in addition, "the Extraditables" had no credibility with the public. Therefore, if they wanted something, the evidence offered would have to be speedy, unilateral, and overwhelming, because it is one thing to agree to surrender and another to carry it out. If the surrender were to occur, and if it were seen by the public as an accomplished fact, the atmosphere with regard to the treatment of "the Extraditables" might alter in the direction of a more benign solution. This would be pursuant to the juridical principle of mitigating circumstances, which is incorporated in all of the criminal codes in the world. Specifically, one who abandons a criminal activity is treated differently from one who persists in this action. Then he was asked if some change with regard to extradition could be expected, following fulfillment of all the actions proposed. The answer was that this could only be decided by the government. The parties had now reached a dead point, until a formula could be found. The use of the same mechanism as had been proposed in the case of the Guerrilla Coordination Group and the Notables Commission was contemplated, with similar intent—to establish certain conditions under which, by carrying out the unilateral proposal, the government could set forth its criteria concerning what Pablo Escobar described as his surrender.

The original Notables Commission was made up of former presidents Pastrana and Lopez, Cardinal Revollo, Hernando Santos, and Fabio Echeverri. As this last individual was not in Bogota at the time, it was decided to enlist former president Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, in his capacity as head of the Liberal Party, and Diego Montana, as president of the Patriotic Union. Thus it was hoped to make the appeal for surrender more representative politically. The draft of the original text was written by Lopez, taking into account the point which had been reached in the discussions—in other words, general principles to the benefit of "the Extraditables" if they surrendered, but nothing specific.

On this basis, the text was submitted to the signatories for study, with the exception of former president Pastrana, who because of communications problems, received only verbal information. It was made clear to each of them that here too, just as the Notables Commission had made no promises at all to the Guerrilla Coordination Group, no commitment at all was being made with regard to the implementation of extradition. With some details contributed by some of the signatories, the so-called Statement by the Notables was made public.

Now What?

What will happen from now on is very difficult to predict, because both parties are hopeful and mistrustful at the same time. It would suit the government perfectly if the kidnapped individuals were released, if the coca shipments were suspended, if the laboratories, crops, landing fields, and weapons were surrendered, and if narcoterrorism were to end. All of this without yielding

on any principle. The "Extraditables" would be better off if prior to doing what they have offered, the public were to change radically enough to agree to their being tried in Colombia. However, neither the one party nor the other has any guarantee of anything, and each is demanding proof of good faith from the other. The government has announced publicly that it will give the "defeated ones" an opportunity to demonstrate their defeat with deeds, but to date, except for the release of four of the individuals kidnapped, no evidence has been seen. The fact that the kidnap victims are being released one by one gives the impression that the government is not the only party wanting proof of good faith.

The main problem lies in the fact that since nothing has been agreed upon beyond the general language of the two statements, each of the parties is giving the contents a different interpretation. The government is seeking total surrender, leaving the discussion of the possible counterpart offers until such time as surrender is a reality. To offset any impression of negotiating, it must continue the military operations against "the Extraditables" with the same intensity. Escobar and his people, for their part, want to have evidence of reciprocity as the promises are being fulfilled. And in practice, this means negotiation, which is what the government has repeatedly rejected.

In terms of results, the government is seeking the release of the hostages, first of all, and if by chance all of the fine things offered were to become a reality, to the point that public opinion changed, both in Colombia and in the United States, presumably it would be prepared to consider putting "the Extraditables" on trial. Although they say that they would submit themselves to the Colombian courts, what they want basically is to be given the status of political criminals, so that they could claim treatment such as fines or amnesty, something the people of Colombia regard as absolutely unacceptable. It is on this fragile basis that the extremely difficult process of trying to find a solution other than total war to the problem of narcoterrorism in Colombia is beginning.

[Box, p 24] Statement of 'The Notables'

The honors and responsibilities we have been given place us under obligation, more than ever, to denounce the wave of attacks on innocent persons, to condemn the practice of kidnapping, of so-called "execution," and all of the forms of extortion—the evils from which Colombia has been suffering for some time now, and which have become more acute in recent months.

We believe that as the representative of society, the state has the obligation to act in the way it has been doing to put an end to these outrages. The government has been carrying out this duty successfully, and sooner or later, it will finally eliminate the evils from which we are suffering and will punish those who in this way are threatening the present and the future of the country. The good citizens of Colombia must contribute to the success of this undertaking, in which the state must win, and will win, the war against drugs and subversion.

We are therefore making a patriotic appeal to those individuals who have clashed with the state, thus exposing themselves to its full rigors, to urge them to recognize the urgency of preventing further pain to their own families and to their fellow citizens, realizing in advance that the state will impose its sovereignty throughout the national territory, and that it is useless to persevere in bleeding Colombia.

We are certain that in response to a statement made by "the Extraditables" accepting this appeal, liberation of those they are holding as hostages, and immediate suspension of the shipments of narcotics abroad, society will look on this final gesture with benevolence, and will believe that the offenders merit less rigorous treatment than if they were to persist with their criminal actions. Faced with a state provided with adequate reasons, based on positive deeds, society might possibly understand that they should consequently be treated in such a way as to eliminate the scourge of drug trafficking.

Signed: Mario Revollo Bravo, archbishop primate of Colombia; Alfonso Lopez Michelsen and Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala, former presidents of the Republic; and Diego Montana Cuellar, president of the Patriotic Union.

When consulted about this statement, Dr Misael Pastrana Borrero, former president of the Republic, expressed his agreement with its content.

Bogota, January 1990.

Paraguay

Municipal Elections Reportedly in Doubt

PY0103021090 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 28 Feb 90 p 7

[Text] The recently approved electoral code repeals Law 886/81, which established that municipal elections had to be held every five years during the second half of October. The new code, however, does not establish any date for the elections and leaves it in a political void.

Municipal Organic Law 1294 does not establish a date for municipal elections either. Article 24 of the municipal law says that "municipal councils will be elected by the people in a way and at a time established by the electoral law."

There is also a question as to whether these important elections will be held in October this year, as established by Law 886, or if they will be moved to another date, or if a new law or decree will establish new dates.

There has been a lot of speculation in Congress about the postponement of these elections. Authorities at the Asuncion Municipal Palace are reportedly sure that they will be postponed because more time is needed to elaborate a new electoral registration list.

The new registration list is another question that is affecting these elections. Political and social sectors have been demanding the elaboration of a new registration list to guarantee the integrity of future elections because the list inherited from the dictatorship was largely faked and falsified.

The new code annuls the Stroessnerist registration but it does not provide any rules for the elaboration of new lists, despite the proximity of these elections.

According to official estimates, there are some 2,100,000 citizens of voting age who have yet to be registered.

The Central Electoral Board has yet to start the process of registration and is already five months behind schedule.

Trade Union Organization Criticizes Government

PY2702181490 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 26 Feb 90 p 12

[Text] Addressing the government's economic and social policy, CUT [United Labor Federation] has pointed out that politically, workers today are enjoying more rights and guarantees than in the past. However, they are facing a government, which from an economic point of view, very clearly represents the interests of large capital.

CUT points out that while [former President General Alfredo] Stroessner resorted to occasionally paternalistic measures aimed at mediating between the interests of capital and labor, the government of General Rodriguez undoubtedly identifies itself with the interests of big business.

Concerning land conflicts, CUT points out that, in the first place, the drastic use of force to dislodge landless peasants and urban dwellers [squatters] demonstrates the new government's clear intention to enforce respect for public property, ignoring the social role any property must play. With this attitude, speculative capital, rather than production, is favored.

In the second place, the implementation of a free, single, and fluctuating foreign exchange system represents a measure favoring agricultural exporters such as cattlemen and lumbermen, and large industrialists who are in a position to export, while harming the low-income urban sectors. In addition, the free trade system damages national production, but favors big businessmen who are linked to foreign trade and to speculative capital.

Lastly, the privatization policy is aimed at attracting big foreign companies. Citing increased efficiency of private enterprises over state-run enterprises, mass dismissals and job losses as well as a net loss of our country's wealth are planned. The shadows of a new "REPSAS" [Paraguayan Refineries, Inc.] sapping our national economy are looming up on the horizon, especially in the case of the National Cement Industry (INC). The CUT declaration states that this neo-liberal model is being proposed as an alternative to the mixed private-state model used as a make work-policy during the dictatorship.

The Socioeconomic Model Sought To Be Implemented

What socioeconomic model is sought to be implemented? All the measures taken, such as 1) the extreme defense of rural and urban property, including speculative property; 2) the measures implementing a free foreign exchange system and a free trade system; 3) the privatization of state-run enterprises; 4) the absence of a solid land reform proposal, despite the fact that this is one of the main national problems; 5) the absence of a political willingness to implement tax reform; 6) the little importance attached to social and housing problems; and 7) the blameworthy permissiveness toward contraband, just to mention the main variables outlining the real socioeconomic model proposed by the conservative government of Rodriguez, indicate a development model of agricultural exports and of privileges for large capital while ignoring the great problems of production and employment.

The critical condition of the country's balance of payments and the country's awkward foreign-debt situation serves as an excuse to grant all manner of privileges to the strong agricultural export sector and even to speculative capital.

What sectors are benefiting the most with the current government's socioeconomic policy (the real one, not the one mentioned in the development program of the Planning Technical Secretariat)?

CUT adds that it is easy to see that the sectors benefiting the most from the free foreign exchange system, the free trade system, the rigorous protection of real estate and the continuation of an unfair tax system are the so-called agricultural exporters, especially the big meat producers (cattlemen), lumbermen, soybean farmers, entrepreneurs (exporters, middlemen), and financial services.

Peru

Vargas Llosa, Fredemo Leading in Polls

PY2802154590 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0132 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Lima, 27 Feb (EFE)—According to polls released in Lima today, the center-right Democratic Front (Fredemo) and its presidential candidate, writer Mario Vargas Llosa, are the apparent favorites of Peruvian voters.

A poll conducted by the private company "Datum" in the cities with the greatest number of voters was published today by the Lima newspaper EL COMERCIO. The poll, taken 40 days before the 8 April presidential and legislative elections, indicates that 43 percent of the votes will go to the novelist and Fredemo. The people

were responding to this question: Which candidate and party or political group would you vote for if the elections were held tomorrow?

Luis Alva Castro, the candidate for the ruling American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), finished second in the poll with 15 percent of the votes, the same percentage assigned to his party. Alfonso Barrantes, a former Lima mayor, was third with 14 percent of the votes, while his political group, the Socialist Left (IS), received 11 percent. Henry Pease, the presidential candidate of the United Left (IU), a coalition of communist and socialist parties, received eight percent of the votes, three percentage points less than the support for his group.

A poll conducted by "Apoyo," another specialized private company, was published by the newspaper EXPRESO. This poll indicates that 44 percent of the voters prefer Vargas Llosa. The newspaper reports that the poll was conducted in Lima, Callao, and eight other cities in the country. The newspaper adds that Alva Castro was second with 13 percent of the vote, Barrantes third with 12 percent, and Pease fourth with nine percent.

Regarding congressional candidates, this poll indicates that Fredemo's candidates for the Senate and Chamber of Deputies are the favorites. Fredemo's candidates for the Senate received 42 percent of the vote and Fredemo's candidates for the Chamber of Deputies received 40 percent.

There are a total of nine Peruvian presidential candidates but these four represent the groups with the largest number of voters, out of a total of about 10 million, according to the National Election Board.

IU presidential candidate Henry Pease said at a rally in northern Peru that "the right should not believe that it is time for them to govern us." He added that his party "is the only alternative to overcome the crisis." Senator Gustavo Mohme, one of the IU's vice presidents, has described Vargas Llosa as an "imperialist agent and a representative of the native oligarchy."

APRA presidential candidate Luis Alva Castro has pointed out that the Fredemo will only manage to bring a further deterioration of Peru's social problems. The ruling-party candidate said that he does not trust the polls that indicate Vargas Llosa will win the elections, and he pointed out that the people actually prefer the APRA.

Shining Path Paints Slogans on Inca Fortress

PY2802174990 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0434 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Lima, 27 Feb (EFE)—While the presidential and congressional candidates are engaged in their campaign propaganda, the Maoist "Shining Path" group is creating publicity against the Peruvian general elections scheduled for 8 April.

It was reported today that Shining Path painted antielectoral slogans on about 100 large stones of the Inca fortress at Sacsahuaman near Cusco, 1,000 km southeast of Lima. The hammer and sickle were painted in red on the largest stone of the fortress where the Inti Raymi, or Sun Festival, of the ancient Inca emperors is held every year. Praise for "President Gonzalo"—Shining Path founder Abimael Guzman Reynoso, the invisible mentor of the terrorist bands—was painted on other stones.

Oscar Nunez, president of the National Culture Institute (INC) office in Cusco has reported that Shining Path arrived in Sacsahuaman in several pickup trucks and, after overpowering the guards, painted the monuments. Some 10 activists were involved in painting the antielectoral slogans. The paint is being erased with chemical products while police patrol the site which is visited by a good number of tourists every day.

* Private Sector Initiatives To Improve Economy

* Investment Projects Planned

90ET0118A Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 28 Jan 90 p 1f

[Summary of interview with Pro Development executive president Miguel Vega Alvear by J.Z.S.: "Businessmmen Set Forth List of Projects"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Most Peruvian businessmen have realized that they alone, with society's support, will be able to pull the country out of the current crisis that has brought inflation rates of 1 million percent in 5 years, record unemployment, and chaos in relative prices. Many have banded together in the Association for Peru's Promotion and Development, "Pro Development," headed by former Confiep [National Confederation of Private Business] president Miguel Vega Alvear, and mobilized hundreds of colleagues throughout the country in putting together a portfolio of investment projects in the main regions. The portfolio will be offered on a "shared risk" basis to foreign or national capitalists. Vega Alvear knows that more important than the enlisting of outside capital is the return of hundreds of millions of dollars belonging to Peruvians driven away by political upheavals. Businessmen summoned by Pro Development share the ideals of an open society free from east to west. However, in order to get this revolution in national institutions going, order must be restored and recessive or destructive inflation halted. The following is a summary of a conversation with Miguel Vega Alvear, executive president of Pro Development.

Miguel Vega Alvear, executive president of Pro Development, heads a group of businessmen mobilizing to draw up a list of projects in the private sector for the purpose of enticing national capital deposited abroad to

return and foreign risk capital to come in. The former Confiep president says that the first task must and will be reducing inflation to 10 percent annually.

[EL COMERCIO] Why and for what purpose was Pro Development formed?

[Vega Alvear] We need a new model for what we here call our own road to development, in symbolic opposition to narrow paths of impoverishment and violence. We must create a new model of development and design an overall strategy leading to a way out, one that will summon Peruvians and foreign friends of good faith to carve out new horizons for the reconstruction and rebirth of Peru.

[EL COMERCIO] But what is the background of this endeavor?

[Vega Alvear] I shall repeat a few of the arguments we used to appeal to hundreds of businessmen.

Rarely in its life as a republic has Peru ever had to face such anguishing times as the present, due to the serious consequences of the crisis we are experiencing.

The first dramatic experience was in the earliest phase of the republic and it was due to the scarcity of resources and the burden of nearly 300 years of colonialism. The national purpose was only the aspiration and desire of a lucid minority, isolated by geography and custom from a vast indigenous population.

The second crisis was the result of an ill-fated war at the close of the past century, which exposed our lack of preparedness and limitations affecting any real possibility of development for over 50 years.

[EL COMERCIO] And how do you view the rest of the historical picture?

[Vega Alvear] From 1920 to 1960, using its available resources, Peru enjoyed sustained economic growth, expanded foreign trade, and promoted new urban centers on the Coast as a result of basic services for the export of raw materials and our budding industry. However, from the social standpoint, this did not correct the low standard of living of the indigenous population and lack of resources or possibilities of developing the tropical region, mainly Ceja de Selva.

[EL COMERCIO] And after that?

[Vega Alvear] We have seen that the social emergency resulting from the urban expansion of the 1970's led to steadily increasing public spending exceeding the country's internal possibilities. The first phase of the military government was unfortunately dominated by an anachronistic collectivist ideology. Subsequent expropriations and massive seizures of productive activities not only checked development achieved, but since that time the government has had a negative impact on the country's economy.

[EL COMERCIO] And now we are nearing an explosion?

[Vega Alvear] The fight between structuralists and monetarists, the absence of any continuity in policies, and the present politicization of economic activity have helped the crisis of the past 20 years to reach today's explosions, with the risk that inflation and terrorism will lead us to a tragic outcome not unlike the recent experiences of Chile and Bolivia.

[EL COMERCIO] But is the picture not complicated by events in Eastern Europe?

[Vega Alvear] Yes, it is. Changes unthinkable or unimaginable until last year are occurring. We have aspired to a model of development lasting at least 20 years and we must first recognize that we are at a disadvantage. Today, ideas, capital, and individuals are ready to go to the country or countries offering them the right conditions or beckoning them. We have the case of the "four Asian dragons" and, very soon, Peru.

[EL COMERCIO] What can we offer in the way of resources?

[Vega Alvear] It now seems trite to speak about resources. We have an advantage over other countries that are poorer but that encourage savings and hard work. The tropics are wide open. Other countries less well off than we are derive maximum benefit from those resources by using state-of-the-art, ingenious irrigation techniques, climatization, modern communications, and intensive labor practices. There are enough jobs in Asia. On our continent, one case in point is Chile and its exportation of fruit thanks to the development of agroindustry.

[EL COMERCIO] What does Pro Development specifically propose to do under a future Democratic Front government?

[Vega Alvear] We need to create jobs. In order to do so, we propose projects and measures offering opportunities to the thousands of young people who, because they are disillusioned, join the Army every year. Only three out of 10 members of the PEA (economically active population) find jobs or work. We are thinking on a large scale, looking to the Pacific Basin, where the biggest financial surpluses in the world are found. How can we attract that capital if we are not an attractive market or are small?

[EL COMERCIO] Keep going; it sounds interesting. The Pacific Basin is apparently the rage now.

[Vega Alvear] It is the only way out under the circumstances. We are for an open society and economy. We want our foreign trade to hit 30 percent of the gross domestic product. Today, of the $20 billion total, exports and imports make up $5 billion. We want to attract Asian capital from the Four Dragons by providing, along with Brazil, a multiple alternative to the Panama Canal through the multimodal corridors between Paita and the Amazon, through Maranon in the

north, and between Matarani and Brazil, crossing Madre de Dios. Many entrepreneurs in the Far East with projects in Brazil are interested in the route to the Pacific through Peru.

[EL COMERCIO] All that is fine, but how can the human and financial resources be mobilized under the present circumstances?

[Vega Alvear] First of all, we must check inflation or hyperinflation, get the economy back on its feet, do what is most urgently needed in terms of energy, roads, and legislation, and pacify the country.

We need annual investments of $5 billion for 10 years simply to lay the foundations.

I do not deny that the first 2 years will be difficult because at the same time we fight inflation, we must raise the level of productive investments. To begin with, we are speaking of an investment level of 12 to 14 percent of the GDP, subsequently attaining the level of Korea (South Korea, naturally).

[EL COMERCIO] What about problems with the Pan American Highway and the ports?

[Vega Alvear] The Pan American Highway has to be repaired by private concessions and the ports must be turned over to private enterprise. We must also turn our pessimism into optimism and vicious circles into virtuous circles. I think the overall program, including one providing guarantees for low-income groups, will help us and enable us to give confidence to Peruvians with funds deposited abroad. The task of reconstruction will be long. The central problem is that we do not know what the state of the economy will be like by July. Pandora's box of Greek mythology is child's play or will be. In the meantime, hundreds of businessmen are drawing up a list of projects for the time when the economy is ready to take off, with an inflation rate of under 10 percent.